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"Driven by War into Politics!": A Feminist Biography of Kathleen Innes

by
Kathryn Harvey

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1995

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Yours sincerely

Nigel Steel

Nigel Steel
Department of Documents

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Ligue internationale de femmes pour la paix et la liberté

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L. Rajeswaran

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21 August 1995

Dear Kathryn Harvey

Thank you for your fax of 17 August. In line with the Museum's standard procedure I have forwarded your request to the last known address of the nephew of Miss K E Royds (later Mrs Innes) who donated his aunt's papers to the Museum's archive in the mid 1970s. I hope this will produce a reply, either direct to you or via through myself, but I am not very optimistic.

As you anticipated, the letter has been sent to Mr Royds at Kensington Park Road. However, as you have not been able to establish contact with him over the past few years and I received no reply to the last letter that I forwarded to him, I fear that it is unlikely to be successful this time. In cases such as these we usually suggest that, provided the attempt has been made, the material from the collection is used as intended with a rejoinder or footnote placed in the work to explain that it has not been possible to obtain permission from the copyright holder.

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Yours sincerely

Nigel Steel

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Kathryn Harvey

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September 28, 1995

In most biography there is a strong subjective element, and most critics would feel that a certain subjectivity is an inevitable ingredient.

- Innes, The Bible as Literature

It is better to record too much than too little. Let the future historian decide what to discard; [s]he cannot fill in what is omitted.

- Innes, "Recording Village History"

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "'Driven by war into Politics!': A Feminist Biography of Kathleen Innes" submitted by Kathryn Harvey in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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September 11, 1995

For Mike

and

For all the women still waiting to have their stories told

Abstract

In 1992, I was asked by two friends of Kathleen Elizabeth (Royds) Innes about my interest in her. Since Innes (1883-1967) was not "an international or national figure[,] would we be correct in thinking [it] may originate from the connections she had with the League of Nations and/or the Quakers?" they wondered. Their query highlights the significance of my research: Innes was an international and a national figure within women's, feminist, and peace organizations. She was an unpublished poet and prolific writer, editor, and translator of subjects ranging from literary criticism to international relations, scripture to history.

This biography follows the trajectory of her life--her late Victorian childhood to her work as a promising young scholar of literature and languages to her 50 years of pacifist and internationalist activism. Chapter 1 traces aspects of Innes's later life back to their possible origins in her childhood and examines her educational and scholarly work. Drawing on an unpublished diary, it also tells of her hasty return from Germany in early August 1914 after Britain declared war. Chapter 2 follows Innes's involvement (1914-1918) with the Scottish Women's Hospitals and Serbian Relief Fund in Greece and Corsica. These experiences profoundly changed her life, "driving" her into politics and bringing her together with fellow relief worker and future husband, George Innes. Chapter 3 recounts her marriage and activities with the British Section of the feminist pacifist organization the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), of which she became Chairman (1934) and Honourary Secretary (1935-1946). Her involvement with the Society of Friends constitutes the substance of Chapter 4, which outlines her Secretaryship of the Friends' Peace Committee (1926-1936) and membership on the Slavery and Protection of Native Races Committee. Chapter 5 traces Innes's activities at the international level of the WILPF, especially as one of its International Co-Chairman during the Second World War. Chapter 6 focuses on Innes's participation (1938-1967) in the local affairs of St. Mary Bourne, Hampshire, as co-founder/benefactor of the local Village Centre, chair of several organizations, and local historian.

Acknowledgements

Work on a biography is never a solitary endeavour, and I have many people and institutions to thank for their generous assistance. The origins of this project are at largely due to my patient and encouraging supervisor, Edward Bishop, since it was in his course on the Hogarth Press that I first became aware of Kathleen Innes's writing. I would also like to thank my committee members, JoAnn Wallace and Paul Hjartarson, for their support over the years.

In the course of my research on Innes, I had the fortune of meeting one relative and several of her friends. They all warmly received me into their homes and shared their memories of Innes and her husband, George. To Bea and Frank Hilton Isherwood, (retired) Rev. John Royds, and Cluny Younger I owe the biggest debt. The Isherwoods passed on to me not only recollections of Innes but a beautiful photograph of her as well as a piece of Serbian embroidery that she once gave them as a gift--for this my deepest thanks. I am grateful to Rev. Royds for drawing to my attention a Royds family history and for sharing stories about his family. To Cluny Younger, who opened her home to me for two stays of about a week each, I owe the privilege of spending time in the Hampshire village where Innes spent her last thirty years. As if this generosity were not enough, she also arranged for me to see the Village Centre Minute Books, the Women's Institute scrapbooks, and to interview several local residents who still remembered Kathleen and George Innes. The biography would be a very different piece of work were it not for her.

My sincere thanks also go to John Isherwood, former International Voluntary Service for Peace worker, and his wife Ann; Gladys Cooper, former employee of Kathleen Innes; Martin Coppen, current Vicar of St. Peter's Church, St. Mary Bourne; Jean Daws, teacher (retired) at the St. Mary Bourne School; Billie, Robin & the late Ken Young, long-time residents of St. Mary Bourne and friends of the Inneses; Mr. E.G. Fürstenheim, one of several refugees from Nazi Germany whom the Inneses helped, and his wife; Nancy Weston, former secretary of the St. Mary Bourne School and Women's Institute member; Mrs. B.M. Taylor, Women's Institute member and long-time resident of St. Mary Bourne; Pansy Heath, resident of St. Mary Bourne; David Hay, who as a child went on several of George Innes's nature walks and whose mother published Innes's first book on Hampshire, and his wife, Sue.

Among the archivists and librarians I must thank are Sylvia Carlyle, Librarian of the Religious Society of Friends (London), whose initial enthusiasm and helpfulness proved beyond a shadow of a doubt the value of several trips to their vast library of Friends' writings; David Doughan and staff at the Fawcett Library; Nigel Steel and other archivists at the Imperial War Museum; Bruce Montgomery, Marty Covey, and assistants at the Western Historical Collections, University of Colorado (Boulder); Francesca Hardcastle, University of Reading (Hogarth Press Archives); and Wendy Chmielewski, Curator, Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

My thanks as well go to the staff of the British Library, Hampshire Record Office, Public Record Offices (Chancery Lane and Kew), Berkshire Record Office, and Special Collections librarians at the University of Southampton Library. Erica Tinsley, Andover Local History Society, and John Charlton, Co-director of the Hogarth Press, who helped get me started near the beginning of my research also receive my thanks. Ann Shaw, a reporter with the Andover Advertiser, deserves special thanks, for not only did her article on my research in the Andover area bring me another contact, but she arranged for my several visits to the

newspaper's archives. My list would not be complete without mention of the University of Alberta's inter-lirbary loans librarians, who continued to surprise me as they tirelessly and efficiently managed to fill almost every request.

I would like to thank the WILPF for their permission to reproduce the photographs used in plates 6 and 7 and the Imperial War Museum for provision of materials used in plates 2, 3, and 4. In the case of the latter reproductions, every effort has been made to obtain permission from the copyright holder, who unfortunately could not be located.

Finally, I am especially grateful to Michael Hymers, whose assistance when time threatened during research trips to London has not been forgotten. Throughout my research and writing, he has listened to my stories and helped me work through much of what follows. His support and encouragement over the years has meant a great deal to me both personally and professionally.

K.A.H.
Edmonton, Alberta
September 27, 1995

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List of Abbreviations

ILO	International Labour Office
LNU	League of Nations Union
NUWSS	National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies
SFPC	Society of Friends' Peace Committee
SPNRC	(Society of Friends') Slavery and Protection of Native Races Committee
SRF	Serbian Relief Fund
SWH	Scottish Women's Hospitals
UDC	Union of Democratic Control
WIL	Women's International League (British Section)
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

A note about the text:
My use of the terms "Chairman" and "Co-Chairman" for the leadership of the WIL and WILPF has been dictated by their own use of the terms.

1 Kathleen Innes circa 1940s
(courtesy of Bea and Frank Hilton Isherwood)

Introduction

In April 1992, I received a letter from two of Kathleen Innes's friends asking about the choice of Innes as the subject of my PhD dissertation. Since she was not "an international or national figure[,] would we be correct in thinking [your interest] may originate from the connections she had with the League of Nations and/or the Quakers?" they asked. Their query goes straight to the significance of my research. Innes was both an international and a national figure within various women's, feminist, and peace organizations, and she wrote extensively about her work.

The scope and diversity of her career is extraordinary, yet only twenty-eight years after her death, she is "lost" to history. She received her teacher's certification from Cambridge University and later obtained a BA (Hons) in Modern Languages from London University. War intervened in her teaching career and set her life on a new course as a peace and human rights activist. She wrote articles, pamphlets, and books for adults and children on literature and politics, on history and peace; she edited and translated books on scripture and history.

Her writing reflected the diversity of her activism. Unlike colleague Vera Brittain, who in Testament of Youth shunned "provincialism," Innes was as keen about village flower shows as about international relations: in the 1940s, when she entered her rhubarb in the produce competitions of the local Flower Show, Innes also Co-Chaired the world's largest feminist pacifist organization. She was elected Chair, President, or Secretary of almost any organization to which she belonged--be it a local Parish Council or Women's Institute or an international body such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Kathleen Innes knew many of those whom history has remembered as the prominent writers, editors, academics, peace activists, feminists, and politicians of her day--Leonard and Virginia Woolf, H.N. Brailsford (editor of Foreign Affairs), historian George Peabody Gooch, Arnold Toynbee (director of studies of the Royal Institute for International Affairs), Gilbert Murray (Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford), Eleanor Rathbone and Ellen Wilkinson (both M.P.s); and she met and/or worked on committees with more than half a dozen Nobel Peace Laureates--Fridtjof Nansen (1922), Jane Addams (1931), Norman Angell (1933), Arthur Henderson (1934), Lord Robert Cecil (1937), Emily Balch (1946), Philip Noel-Baker (1959). Yet, although listing such names may help place her in context, the strength of her reputation does not depend on whom she knew.

Over the almost thirty years (1918-1946) that she was active in national and international affairs, her own reputation spread among the handful of feminist peace activists throughout Europe and the Far East; it also spread through the somewhat wider channels of League of Nations Societies around the world. I have traced some of her books to the League of Nations Library and have seen references indicating that her books and pamphlets have been translated into several languages including German, Bulgarian, and Norwegian. Since she wrote for the Society of Friends' Peace Committee and the League of Nations Union, both of which were energetic distributors of anti-war literature, her books and pamphlets probably have wider distribution than I have yet been able to track. All this is to say that Innes is far from a silent figure skulking on the backroads of history, but is an incisive anti-war

writer who has been undeservedly neglected.

So how did I stumble upon her? Why, I was asked by a reporter for the Andover Advertiser when I visited Kathleen Innes's home village, was a Canadian so interested in a local woman? Every biographer has a story to tell and mine begins with two graduate courses, one on the Hogarth Press and one on critical theory and children's literature. As I searched through J.H. Woolmer's Hogarth Press checklist, I ran across Kathleen Innes's name, not once but five times. All five books were on the League of Nations and described as being for "young people"--a strange topic for a press, best known as the avant-garde publisher of the likes of Virginia Woolf, T.S. Eliot, Katherine Mansfield, E.M. Forster, and Nancy Cunard. Why would Hogarth be publishing children's books, let alone books on the League of Nations? I wondered. Curious to see one of these books for myself, I located one easily enough in the Education Library's general circulation. The book, which had not been borrowed for at least a decade, to my astonishment was an original Hogarth edition. (It now sits with the considerable Hogarth Press run held by the University's Special Collections.) Elements of The Story of the League of Nations, told for young people (1925) intrigued me: its overview of the "league idea" through history, its obvious attention to women's roles and representation on the League of Nations, its emphasis on the importance of representation from non-white races in the League, and its colourful descriptions of Geneva and the League buildings. The simply-written book seemed to be pitched to young people learning history in school.

Given my initial success in locating a copy of one of Kathleen Innes's books, I felt confident that I could obtain biographical information about the author in standard references such as the Dictionary of National Biography, Who's Who, or perhaps in The Feminist Companion to Literature in English. I found only one listing: ironically, it was in the Who Was Who Among English and European Authors, compiled in the 1970s from earlier-published biographical dictionaries. She had, it seemed, become a "has been" not only before her death, but before she had stopped writing. Not satisfied with this representation of Innes (several of whose books, I later learned, were in print until 1992), I continued my research.

Slowly my bibliography began to grow. General indices to periodical literature and the British Museum General Catalog provided further bibliographic and biographical information: she published not only under "Innes" but under "Royds" as well--not to be confused with the popular writer "Kathlyn Rhoyds" of whom Kathleen Royds claimed in 1917 never to have heard. This discovery of her maiden name allowed me to add several more items. In response to my letter to Hogarth Press, John Charlton (one of the press' current directors), advised me that Innes was probably a Quaker. So, I wrote to the Friends' House Librarian, Sylvia Carlyle, who sent me the names of several more pamphlets and books by Innes and pointed me to Quaker journals, in which Innes probably published. During one research trip to London, I sifted through indices to The Friend and grazed through issues of World Outlook and The Wayfarer. From obituary notices in Friends' publications I learned of her involvement in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and so headed for the British Library in pursuit of more evidence. Rosemary Sullivan was certainly accurate in describing the biographer as a "literary detective [who] follows the clues, solves, not the crime, but the life" (29).

I was not so fortunate with the Women's International League

publications as I had been with The Friend. Neither the WIL Monthly News Sheet nor Pax International has been indexed, and the British Library holds only the former--on microfilm. Thus, I spent several days poring over every issue from about 1919 to the late 1950s of the WIL Monthly News Sheet to locate articles signed "K.E.R.," "K.E.I." or "K.E. Innes." A trip to the University of Colorado at Boulder, where the WILPF Papers are archived, was needed to identify articles by Innes in Pax.

Without doubt more signed articles and book reviews are still waiting to be located, and I am very sure that several unsigned articles in these WIL publications have eluded me. In addition, Innes might well have published in Time and Tide, a feminist periodical that often publicized the Women's International League; in Headway, the League of Nations Union journal; or in Foreign Affairs, the Union of Democratic Control's journal.[1]

Once the bibliographic subject was established, I could follow the trajectory of her writing life, at least. This, in turn, made it easier to formulate questions about her "personal" life: Where did she get her literary training? How did she obtain two book contracts for biographical critiques of Elizabeth Barrett Browning and S.T. Coleridge before she had even received her BA (Hons)? Why did she stop writing literary criticism in the 1920s and take up international affairs? Why did she start writing about Hampshire's local and natural history in the 1940s? With these questions, I had a place to begin my biographical research in earnest.

When I began work on Innes, I had only her name. Then came the bibliography. Reading the book reviews, articles, pamphlets, and books gradually gave me a sense of her opinions about literature, history, scripture, society, and politics. From this point my quest narrative moves from the "safe" distance of the dispassionate intellectual account telling how I came to research Innes to the intimate personal confessions of "Why a biography?" and "Why Innes?" I must admit that early in my research I did not ask myself these questions, because at the time a biography just seemed to be the natural course to take. In hindsight, several inter-related reasons suggest themselves.

This biography extends an interest in women's writing developed in my Master's thesis, which examined life writings (biography, anthropological life history, and autobiography) by and about West African women. The biography of Innes also extends my interest in women's history. By the end of the nineteenth-century, Gerda Lerner observes, women had become more "concerned with collecting the raw materials for Women's History and with recording and preserving the record of their own achievements in educational and reform institutions, in churches, in women's clubs, and in specific communities" (Creation 268). This is certainly true of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom whose members talked early in its history about preserving a record of their work. But historical documents are not history, per se. Before they become part of history--that is, the narrative of history--they must be uncovered and interpreted. And as

---

[1] The Friends' House Library has a clipping of one article which she published in Foreign Affairs; she probably published others given her early involvement with the Union of Democratic Control and her friendships with the various editors of the journal (e.g., Henry Noel Brailsford and Helena Swanwick).

Jean Kennard comments about women's pacifist activities: "much work by women has disappeared from view even in the past sixty years, when we were looking, as it were" (19).

When I could find next to nothing about Innes in writings by and about her colleagues or in general histories of the women's, feminist, and pacifist movements, I changed tactics; I abandoned for a time the secondary sources and headed for the archives, where I had far more luck. Textual sources for my biography come from fourteen archives and libraries including Public Record Offices, the Society of Friends Library, the British Library, the British Library of Political and Economic Science, the Fawcett Library, the Imperial War Museum, and the Hampshire Record Office. During my three research trips to Britain, I also conducted personal interviews with fourteen friends and one relative of Kathleen and her husband George Innes and visited both Welwyn Garden City and the village of St. Mary Bourne where the Inneses made their homes from 1924 to 1967.

Truthfully, I was astonished by the amount of information I was able to obtain about Innes through archives. With so much evidence of her activities from the parochial to the international, why has history left her behind? The fact that her paper trail is so scattered begins to account for it. Since her papers are not collected into one archive (or even two or three), they are much harder to find, and if historians or biographers of her colleagues are looking for a quick reference, they would certainly not engage in the sort of digging that was necessary to complete this biography.

Hence the significance of my project and those like it, which recuperate women's history through individual lives. As I see it, the importance of this biography lies as much in the documentation of my research as in the narrative itself. The bibliography lists Innes's written works, both published and unpublished; it also lists speeches given, although her notes for these have probably long since vanished. Interviews I conducted in the course of my research are documented as well. Appendix A provides a bare-bones listing of letters by Kathleen Innes available in various archives. I know there are a few more at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, and there are undoubtedly more in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers. I believe, however, that I have located the largest caches of letters and the only surviving diary fragments.[2] Appendix B attempts to reconstruct what books Kathleen Innes had read and/or recommended to others; many of these probably appeared in the Inneses's library. To compile it, I worked backwards from footnotes, from references in letters, from university examination lists, etc. Appendix C provides a chronology of the Inneses's lives, with an emphasis, of course, on Kathleen's.

This project derives as much out of my interest in women's history as it does out of my interest in the politics of representation--the theoretical basis of my Master's thesis. After I had finished that study, I began to question what motivates the exuberant sort of post-structuralist and "post-modern" scepticism represented, for example, in Roland Barthes's "The Death of the Author," which dismisses the writer's authority to shape the meanings generated by her/his narratives and argues that meaning rests, finally, with the reader (57)--or in Paul de

---

[2] My thanks go to Leah Leneman for directing my attention to the K.E. Royds Papers in the Scottish Women's Hospital Collection in the Imperial War Museum.

Man's "Autobiography as De-facement," which argues that textual "presence" merely signifies referential absence or the "fiction of the voice-from-beyond-the-grave" (927). Both of these critics challenge the assumption that authors are the originators of meaning and that they have the final word on the meanings generated by their own works. By their challenge, Barthes and de Man draw our attention to aspects of narrative and the written word which might otherwise be overlooked. The implication for biography is that suddenly the biographer's role and presumed authority are exposed and called into question and the reader's role is given primacy.

My role as a critic of life writing gave me pause to consider that perhaps I was seeing the "problem" of life writing from too narrow a perspective, so I decided to look at it from another. It is perhaps easier to criticize than to open oneself up for criticism, I thought. The texts which formed the backbone of my Master's thesis employed realistic representation, and several provided few if any textual signals to caution readers that the narratives did not present "life itself" or even the definitive stories of lives. Does writing that appears on the surface to be "traditional" biography employing realistic representation entail the author's complete ignorance of questions such as those raised by post-structuralism and post-modernism? Should we assume that narratives which are not self-reflexive reveal their authors' (perhaps blissful) ignorance of the "problems" of writing? At that point in my questioning, I decided to consider the "problem" of life writing from another angle by attempting to "write a life" myself.

My questions have now been answered--at least to some extent. As a biographer, one cannot but become very quickly aware of one's role as the shaper of a life. By emphasizing one thought, feeling, or action and de-emphasizing another the biographer can subtly shape the reader's understanding of the subject. As Rosemary Sullivan says:

> Biography offers not the life (which to be understood would of course have to be repeated, to be lived), but what the biographer perceives, or discovers, to be the rhythm of the subject's life, directed by imperatives laid down by the personality and by the context in which that life was lived. (29)

As the shaper of a life, therefore, I perceived it my task to distil from gathered evidence--archival, primary, and secondary sources, interviews, photographs, artifacts--what might have been the rhythm of Kathleen Innes's life. Although in the following narrative I do not continually call attention to my role or authority as biographer nor continually remind my reader s/he is reading a story of the life, not witnessing the life itself, I will remind the reader here that the biography is not exhaustive or definitive. I have written <u>a</u> version of Innes's life--to my knowledge, the first.

The fact that this project grew both out of my interest in preserving women's history and out of my desire to move beyond criticism to actually write in the genre which my Master's thesis examined helps explain why I initially chose to write about Innes. It does not explain why I continued to find her so engaging once I got started. I am tempted to call Innes a "woman worthy." But is this term appropriate? What does it mean for someone to be "worthy"? The sort of "worth" I attribute to Innes has less to do with the <u>fact</u> of her achievements and more to do with their nature and with the circumstances in which she

made those contributions. As Susan Mann Trofimenkoff says: "A Great Man doing Great Deeds may merit a story but rarely does he require an explanation. A woman in the same position immediately raises the question 'How come?'" (4). Public achievements alone do not dictate one's "worth." On a very basic level (and supposing we do not harbour exceedingly misanthropic views), every person's life has value, even though we may argue over degrees of worthiness or over how much public interest a life story would attract.

My assignment to Innes of "worthiness," therefore, might be better described as "admiration." And with this confession, biographical "objectivity" rushes out the door. At the beginning of my research when I learned of Innes's connections with the Society of Friends and the WILPF, instead of continuing my broad search for sources, I homed in on these two. My choice was, at the time, not a reasoned decision in the sense that I carefully considered my options and came to the conclusion that I should narrow my search. In hindsight, I see that my decision stems from my own personal interests in feminism and peace activism. In January 1991, when I wrote my thesis proposal, the Gulf War was in full swing with the accompanying media hysteria and peace protestors being yelled down by those who supported America's actions. Although overwhelmed with my own academic work at the time, I decided to join a women's peace group that sprang up as a consequence of the war. It should not be too surprising, therefore, that Innes's convictions and her decisions as to which organizations to support drew my appreciative attention. And I began to wonder what led her to work within the feminist pacifist and humanitarian organizations that she did.

I cannot be wholly uncritical of her views, however. It is true that I admire her; it is also true that I wish she had not held some of the opinions which she did--particularly those relating to slavery and forced labour, as I explain in Chapter 4. So this biography attempts to situate Innes's views in the context of her life as a whole and within the broader social and political spectrum.

Given that this is a first biography of Innes, I feel certain responsibilities. The first of these, as I mentioned, is to identify my sources, giving subsequent researchers a base from which to work. Another responsibility is to present the narrative in a standard, recognizable format--a conventional, largely chronological narrative employing realistic representation. Biographies which diverge from this form are more appropriate for a second, third, or fourth biography, than for a first; only when we have a "received" view of the subject--or at least a first interpretive attempt at one--can alternative renderings or unconventional methods of presentation achieve their full potential.

Still another responsibility might be seen to be the presentation of the "big" picture of a life. Innes became, to varying degrees, actively involved in more than a dozen societies. For reasons already mentioned, I have emphasized her involvement in women's, feminist, and peace groups: the Scottish Women's Hospitals (1910s), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (1920s through 1940s), and the Women's Institutes (1940s through 1960s). However, I have also tried to sketch her involvement in other organizations such as the Serbian Relief Fund (1910s), the League of Nations Union (1920s through 1930s), the Society of Friends (1920s through 1960s), and the St. Mary Bourne Village Centre Committee (1940s through 1950s). Work in these societies formed the core of Innes's career. Her writing career, of course, figured prominently throughout her life.

Were I to extend my narrative I would want to focus on her teaching

and on her connections within the elementary, secondary, and university systems; I would also do more research on the London Federation of League of Nations Unions to which she devoted so much time.[3] Last, but not least, I would extend my research on George Innes. Sadly, this biography does not fully convey the couple's real partnership in peace activism. In the end, perhaps the only explanation I can give as to why I have not embarked on these facets of Innes's life is this: time. Piecing together Kathleen Innes's life within the time limit of a PhD program I knew would be a challenge after I acquired a sense of the scope of Innes's work. Had I added all these other dimensions to my research and narrative, I would still be sitting in archives and trying to locate friends of the Inneses. Little wonder, I have come to realize, that scholarly biographies often take a decade or more to research and write.

To young people who knew Kathleen Innes late in her life, she seemed "a bit scary" because of her intensity and high expectations of others. To adult friends and acquaintances who knew her late in life, she seemed a quiet, unassuming woman with intelligence and compassion who rarely spoke of her activities on the international stage but threw herself into village life, becoming the unofficial village historian and president of several local organizations. To international colleagues, she was an efficient organizer, tireless worker for rights and freedoms of peoples worldwide and an articulate spokeswoman of the international peace movement.

She is ordinary in the sense that to her, these activities were not remarkable; indeed, she believed that not to contribute where her efforts might be needed would be irresponsible. She sought no trophies for her efforts and probably the last thing she would have expected would have been a biography. While individual colleagues (Emily Balch, Jane Addams, Gilbert Murray, George Peabody Gooch, etc.) saved their personal papers and while Innes encouraged WILPF Headquarters to save their papers for archiving, Innes regularly purged old files to make way for the new. She is remarkable in the sense that not many women of the late Victorian period achieved such a measure of respect from such diverse constituencies. In her eyes, she simply did what she felt had to be done: be it lobbying for world peace or hosting a fund-raising fête on the lawns of Portway.

My first visit to Kathleen Innes's home village of St. Mary Bourne, Hampshire, in August 1993 had the effect of rekindling interest in Kathleen and George Innes's contributions to the village. During my stay, I met people who remembered her and saw signs of villagers' appreciation--the memorial plaque on a wooden bench situated on a footpath overlooking her home, "Portway," and the school prize bearing her name given out each year in the local school, for example.

Innes and her husband founded the local Village Centre in St. Mary Bourne; to my dismay, I missed (by just one year) seeing the old Village

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[3] This organization, I discovered, is different from the League of Nations Union, whose records are held at the British Library of Political and Economic Science. Enquiries at the BLPES and the National Register of Archives concluded in dead-ends. Clearly more work needs to be done to locate the records of this Federation for which George Innes was an organizer for thirteen years.

Centre, which after 20 years had been replaced by an impressive new Village Hall. John Isherwood, one of the team of voluntary workers who helped erect the original centre and now a member of the Andover Local History Society, remembered that George Innes compiled a pictorial history of the construction of the Village Centre. Before my visit, this history was found--mildewed and mouse-eaten--in a local basement. Today, the scrapbook of photographs and letters has, to my knowledge, been restored by the Hampshire Record Office and placed there for safe-keeping. Just as my appearance in St. Mary Bourne rekindled memories of the Inneses, I hope that, in a similar vein, this biography will invigorate interest in the life of a dynamic writer, translator, publisher, and social activist--Kathleen Innes (1883-1967).

Chapter 1
Escape from Victorian Femininity, 1883-1914

> How can women, who are not allowed by convention and domestic claims to concentrate for any lengthy period, achieve great things?
>
> - Hampshire Pilgrimages

Kathleen Elizabeth Royds was born on January 15, 1883--the same year that John Maynard Keynes and Benito Mussolini were born and Karl Marx died. Coming from a wealthy middle-class professional family in late Victorian Britain, by all rights she should have grown up with aspirations of being a "society lady." Like Virginia Woolf, one year her senior, she did not. Kathleen Royds (later Innes) pursued a formal education and entered life in the public sphere. She did not, as Keynes and Mussolini in their very different ways did, enter into the life of the political mainstream, the male-dominated governmental side of politics; she moved in the political margins and became a highly respected figure in national and international pacifist circles and a much sought-after writer and speaker for adults and children alike. She edited two monthly publications as well as a series of histories with the eminent historian George Peabody Gooch, and she worked as a translator. Royds spent almost her entire adult life engaged in various forms of political activism at the local, national, and international levels. She can be counted among the handful of women--including Helena Swanwick, Catherine Marshall, Vera Brittain, and Virginia Woolf--who, in the early twentieth century, engaged in debates long-considered to be subjects suitable only for men.

How Kathleen Royds managed to move beyond the exaggerated femininity that was to her so much a defining feature of the Victorian period and embrace life in the public eye may be surmised from what little information is available about her family and her childhood.

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> ... it is as well to be reminded of the horrors existent in our own mines and factories in the early days of the industrial revolution.
>
> - "From a Bygone Age"

Kathleen Royds's great-grandfather, Thomas Royds of Greenhill, made a considerable income from the notoriously prosperous Lancashire cotton mills, which became by the 1830s "the great symbols of English economic dominance" (Sommerville 189).[1] These factories acquired an equally notorious reputation for their harsh working conditions, a reputation

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[1] References to birth, marriage, and death dates of Royds's immediately family and ancestors come from Sir Clement Royds's Pedigree of the Family of Royds.

that lasted well into the twentieth century.[2] As a Rochdale merchant Thomas Royds, his wife, and six children lived affluently, and he was able to leave his sons a considerable legacy upon his death in 1819.[3] Another of their clan, Sir Clement Royds, "was a benefactor of Rochdale ... [and] he built a very nice centre to the city, to the town. It was then considered Rochdale's glory." The museum in Rochdale contains a bust honouring Sir Clement (Royds, Interview).

Among Kathleen Royds's immediate ancestors, the cotton-mills fortune was not squandered; her grandfather, the Reverend Thomas Royds, passed along a considerable legacy to his children--those of Kathleen Royds's father's generation. The exact size of this fortune is unclear, but her uncle Edward William Slater Royds apparently "never had a paid job in his life" (Royds, Interview). As a result, however, his wife, Mary Ann Sheppard, and their eight children lived in "considerable poverty [and] relative frugality because he never had money" (Royds, Interview). Kathleen Royds's father, in contrast, decided to train in a profession and entered medical school.

Although she never mentioned her great-grandfather's role in Britain's industrial revolution, she took great interest in history and in the literary works of such writers as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Thomas Carlyle, and Alfred, Lord Tennyson, whose poetry and prose deplored harsh working conditions and the effects of industrialization. In her twenties, Kathleen Royds criticized the "crying evil accompanying last century's progress in industrialism ... the employment in mines and factories of women and children, under conditions so brutal and degrading as to be painful to read of."[4] In her thirties, when the International Labour Office was established under the auspices of the League of Nations, Royds closely followed its proceedings, applauding progressive conventions meant to improve labour standards across the globe. In fact, she devoted a whole book, The League of Nations and the World's Workers, to promoting its activities.

Any legacy even remotely connected with her great-grandfather's estate would have given her all the more reason to embrace a life of political activism with an interest in workers' rights. A colleague once asked her opinion about whether a woman who had discovered that one of her investments was making a profit from the manufacture of war materials should sell the shares. She at once advised: "My reply would be--certainly sell out & put the money in a Cooperative Building Society, or a Municipality if possible! It is not her responsibility if others, who have not her consciousness buy, but it should be impossible for one of her convictions to take profit consciously from the making of

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[2] Carolyn Steedman's Landscape for a Good Woman, both autobiography and biography of her mother, examines the legacy of the harsh working conditions in one Lancashire mill-town.

[3] Whether he left money for his surviving daughters, I do not know. By the time their father died, all were married and--to make a not completely unwarranted assumption--presumably were "looked after" by their husbands, so it is hard to say how much of the family money they would have received.

[4] Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her Poetry 84. Hereafter cited as Browning in the text.

war materials."[5] Similarly, Royds, knowing that her family's money came from prosperous Lancashire cotton mills, would have tried to use her money wisely to compensate for past wrongs.

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I grew up as a child in this country ...
- Life in a Hampshire Village

When Kathleen Elizabeth Royds was born, her parents were in their forties. At the age of thirty-one, William Alexander Slater Royds married Sarah Anne Spicer on her thirty-fifth birthday, October 15, 1874. Shortly thereafter the two moved to Reading where William took up work as a general practitioner and gastric surgeon. They chose a home on London Street, probably the most historically interesting street in Reading. It and two others (Broad and Southampton) formed a triangle containing the "thickest concentration of buildings in the city" (Wykes 3). Broad Street, at the north, was "the town's main thoroughfare"; London and Southampton Streets met at the south to complete the triangle, which the river Kennet intersected (4).

Reading's economy was flourishing with beer-brewing and biscuit-making as the two largest industries (50). No fewer than twenty-one breweries (and pubs aplenty) had firmly established themselves in Reading. Since transportation via both waterways and roads had greatly improved the city's accessability by the late nineteenth century, Reading had become a popular stopover among visitors, who with the locals kept the pubs busy (45).

The improvements not only brought people into Reading but also gave local residents easy access "west and east to Bath and London, north and south to Oxford and the coast" (45) and Reading businesses better access to outside markets. For two local businessmen, Thomas Huntley and George Palmer, the improvements, in a sense, fulfilled their dream of producing "'an endless belt of biscuits to encircle the world'" (qtd in Wykes 47): "Colonel Younghusband, the leader of the British expedition to Tibet in 1904, records that when he reached Lhasa, the capital he found Huntley & Palmer's biscuits in the Palace of the Dalai Lama"--apparently before any European had ever set foot there (47). Huntley and Palmer's business began in 1826 in a small bakery on London Street (47).

Kathleen Royds became a keen observer and preserver of local history in Hampshire, where she lived as an adolescent and later as an adult, but passed over the richness of the history associated with the street--indeed the town--of her birth. If the triumph of business and technology did not fire her imagination, cultural lore certainly did, though she did not mention in her writing William Penn's association with the Quaker Meeting House in Sims Court "behind the William Smith's bookshop in London Street" (30). Nor did she mention the fact that Charles Dickens, as President in the 1850s of Reading's Literary and Mechanics' Institute, spoke "three times in the Town Hall and the New Hall in London Street" (15). Nor did she say anything about John Bunyan's time spent in solitude in a local church (29), about Reading being Maria Edgeworth's home-town, or about Alexander Pope's residence only 13 kilometres outside town. She did mention, but only in passing,

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[5] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, February 4, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

that Elizabeth Barrett Browning's (1806-1861) Sonnets were first published privately in Reading in 1847.

Kathleen Royds moved away from Reading in 1895 at the age of twelve. Had she returned in the 1930s to live there instead of in St. Mary Bourne, Hampshire, these are the stories she might well have written about. But in the 1930s she wanted to move back to "the village of her childhood"--the country where she "grew up"--and considered this to be St. Mary Bourne, even though she spent only her teenage years in the village. Many reasons suggest themselves as to why she thought so highly of the Hampshire village. Walking for miles and miles was much more pleasurable in the country than in town. In St. Mary Bourne one had only to step outside the front door to be immediately engulfed by the sounds and smells of nature; a busy street in Reading simply did not favourably compare to this. There was something else St. Mary Bourne had that Reading did not: the village's Saxon and Roman ruins gave the young girl much closer ties to the past than did Reading's modernity.

Royds's historical awareness, which flourished during her teenage years, marked an important awakening of experience. Her father's friendship with Dr. Joseph Stevens, the former doctor and local historian of St. Mary Bourne, opened up whole new terrain to her curious mind. From Dr. Stevens's A Parochial History of St. Mary Bourne (1888), she learned of the region's natural and social histories; the book also whetted her appetite for knowledge of Hampshire's fascinating literary history. Cardinal Newman was said to have begun his famous Apologia in a village not far from St. Mary Bourne; Izaak Walton, famous for The Compleat Angler (1683), loved fishing in Hampshire's rivers; and other well-known residents and travellers included nature writers William Cobbett, Gilbert White, and William Henry Hudson and novelists Charlotte Mary Yonge and Jane Austen (Life in a Hampshire Village 37; Hampshire Pilgrimages passim.). Royds later trained as a teacher of literature and history. She read avidly, never outgrowing her respect for the literary prowess of Jane Austen, the natural history of William Henry Hudson, the historical and archaeological work of Joseph Stevens, and the fiery determination of yet another Hampshire resident--Florence Nightingale.

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The prospect of being a "society lady" ...
- Hampshire Pilgrimages

Royds came from a large family, as had her father and grandfather. By the time she was born, William and Sarah Royds were already busy raising two daughters (Annie Maye Mary and Emily Margery) and two sons (William Massy and George Freeman).[6] Another daughter, Dorothy Gage, was born almost three years after the young Kathleen. In comparison to other families in the immediate Reading neighbourhood, the Royds family was one of the largest and probably the richest. By 1891, counting

[6] Given the tradition of naming in the Royds family, it is likely that William and Sarah choose Emily's middle name to honour the memory of William's sister Margery who died at the age of eight. Similarly, "George Freeman" was chosen in memory of William's brother George F., who died at the age of eleven six months after his sister.

parents, children, and the four servants, the household at 32 London Street numbered twelve.[7]

Only wealthy families could afford four servants. Royds's father already had a considerable legacy and supplemented the family inheritance with a salary of his own. An increase in economic prosperity without a proportionate increase in the availability of consumer goods in the mid- to late Victorian period led many families with that much money to move into larger houses and "[employ] servants for their homes, and assistants for their businesses" (Burstyn 13). Increasingly, families were inclined to employ "three or four servants, instead of one or two. Where there was a housemaid, a cook, and a children's nurse in the home, mothers and children had leisure undreamed of in previous generations" (Burstyn 13-14). The Royds's situation exactly: they employed a cook, a housemaid, and a nursemaid as well as a page boy, presumably for Dr. Royds's medical practice.[8]

What the young girl did in her spare time is a matter for some speculation. In later years, describing Jane Austen's childhood at the end of the 18th century, she wrote:

> ... we get the picture of a united family, with intellectual interests, the women engaged in domestic occupations, housekeeping, looking after anyone who was unwell, planning special meals for visitors ... [and Jane's father] reading the outstanding authors of the day, including among the novelists Fanny Burney, Richardson and Fielding, and in Jane's case evidently many of the popular romances.... (Hampshire Pilgrimages 3)

Though we should not necessarily take what she said of other people's childhoods as evidence of her own, I imagine the Royds family in much the same way, making allowances for the women's lighter load of domestic chores. Sarah was still in charge of the domestic sphere, still responsible for planning meals and entertaining, while William Royds's interest in education meant that he probably had his own well-stocked library, especially since Reading suffered from a dearth of libraries and reading rooms (Wykes 70).[9] So Royds's early reading must have been largely confined to the family library. Perhaps, as she said of Elizabeth Barret Browning, it was here "In her father's library [that] she plunged into the world of books, and from wide and varied reading learnt not pedantry, but independence, not servility, but trust of her own instinct and her own reason" (Browning 33).

During Kathleen Royds's childhood, periodicals for children became popular, and many targeted the newly-wealthy middle-class market (Drotner 120). Some, like The Girls' Own Paper, which began publication in 1880, aimed at a readership of both working- and middle-class girls (Gorham 48). Published by the Religious Tract Society as a counterpart to the popular Boys' Own Paper, The Girls' Own Paper quickly became the

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[7] 1881 Census Records for London Street, Reading, Berks.

[8] 1881 and 1891 Census Records for London Street, Reading, Berks.

[9] The two most popular books in Reading in the early 1800s were the Bible and Moore's Almanack; by the end of the century, little had changed (Wykes 70).

magazine most read by young girls (Drotner 115). The penny weekly's editor Charles Peters "endorsed a middle-class elevation of women's cultural mission ... [that] demanded earnest preparation through formal schooling" (150). It printed articles "on health matters, etiquette, work, and education" as well as readers' correspondence and notices of competitions; practical advice on domestic concerns could also be found in large supply. Personal improvement was the "main fictional theme" of the Girls' Own Paper (158), which ran two serial novels per issue as well as poems and the occasional short story (116). Occupations such as "authoress," teacher, and nurse were deemed suitable pursuits for women, since all "preserve[d] a distinct aura of domesticity and Christian philanthropy" (151); however, as one writer mourned, the necessity for women's economic independence was an unfortunate consequence of the increased likelihood that fathers and brothers could not care forever for unwed daughters and sisters (151). By the time Kathleen Royds could read, as the daughter of a middle-class professional, she likely saw the penny weekly if not regularly, at least on occasion, and absorbed its contradictory messages to young girls: be independent but do not abandon the proper feminine domestic pursuits.

Under the Education Acts of 1870 and 1880, daughters were subject to the same compulsory education regulations as sons; however, schooling for girls was newer and its aims differed dramatically. While middle-class boys learned a profession or to manage a business, or simply acquired the "attributes of respectability" (Burstyn 17), girls learned skills necessary to their "success" as wives and mothers. Boys began their schooling for the public sphere, girls for the private. Most middle-class parents "had no interest whatsoever in cultivating scholarly qualities in their daughters. They wanted them to grow up as decorative, modest, marriageable beings" (Dyhouse 43; Drotner 136).

Both William Massy and George Freeman were groomed for careers in the public sphere. But the Royds daughters, in keeping with the increasing pressure during the late Victorian period, also were educated for self-sufficiency. If William and Sarah Royds had wanted their daughters to become "society" ladies with husbands in lucrative businesses or influential government positions, they were to be disappointed; however, given the closeness of the family members in the 1910s, William and Sarah seemed genuinely proud of their daughters' accomplishments and let them run their own lives.[10] Only two daughters married: Annie Maye at age 32 and Kathleen at age 38, and neither had children.

In 1907, Annie Maye married Reverend Allan Macnab Watson, Vicar in Hazlemere, Surrey and later in Cove, Hampshire. During the First World War, Maye joined in the war relief effort on the humanitarian side,

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[10] Kathleen Royds's letters to her mother reveal that the two often exchanged opinions on the political situation. This became a common enough occurrence during the war, but the practice seems not to have been a recent development in the Royds household. Moreover, Sarah Royds often forwarded newspapers and cuttings to her daughter as well as the occasional suffrage union publication and updates on women's issues. See, e.g. November 25, 1915 (KER/1); April 10, 1917 (KER/3); July 9, 1917 (KER/3); August 7, 1917 (KER/3).

helping Belgian refugees in England.[11] John Royds, Maye's godchild, recalls her generosity, piety, and marvellous ability to manage affairs, a skill which Kathleen also displayed throughout her life. Maye and Allan led comfortable but simple lives devoid of ostentation. Most of their money came from the Royds's side of the family because "Allan ... didn't have any money"; Maye "was always a good businesswoman who obviously invested her bit very well," perhaps even with Bud's advice (Royds, Interview).

Emily Margery, or "Bud" as the family called her, chose a career in the Bank of England. She, too, must have had money from her father in addition to a steady income of her own. Like Kathleen (or perhaps even more so than Kathleen, John Royds suggests), Bud was "literary" and "interested in anything intellectual really and--I was going to say--and not in anything else." "Houses and furniture and food--all the usual things you would expect a woman to take interest in," John Royds recalled with a chuckle, did not appeal to Bud at all. "She had servants to do that." Neither Bud nor Kathleen wanted to be trapped in the role of Victorian society lady or selfless domestic. Bud largely disregarded societal expectations and carved for herself a comfortable niche in society.

All three sisters inherited their father's height. No doubt in school they towered above companions and gained a certain amount of independence (wanted or not at the time) as a result of their stature. As an adult Kathleen Royds, a sturdy-looking woman with features more bold than soft, reached at least five feet eight inches (Taylor, Interview; KER/5/7). Her most outstanding feature was her hair: a huge "mop" of brown hair that began turning grey in her early thirties (Fürstenheim, Interview; KER/5/7). And no wonder her thick somewhat frizzy hair looked as it did, since she reputedly used not regular shampoos but some type of general purpose household cleaner (Cooper, Interview).

She dressed plainly in V-necked sweaters and longish skirts or simple belted dresses in solid, subdued colours. The latest fashions did not much concern her except where they proved to be practical. Not usually a trend-setter when it came to fashion, she was on the vanguard in St. Mary Bourne in the 1940s. As an avid bicyclist, she found traditional skirts too restrictive and bought something more suitable: a divided skirt, thus becoming the first woman in the village to wear one (Dawes, Interview). Her jewelry, again, was of the simplest kind, generally a string of beads or a single brooch. On her feet--larger than most women's--she wore a very heavy type of laced shoe that looked almost like a man's rather than the more fashionable style of women's pumps (Cooper, Interview).

The three sisters, for all their similar humanitarian and literary interests,

> were very considerable personalities and very different people and I don't honestly think that they ever "clicked" to the extent that they wanted to be in one another's pockets. I got that sort of impression. My godmother, Maye, was very sweet to me always, was a very formidable lady indeed if she ... she would certainly be of the sort to tell Kath off. And Kath, of

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[11] See Kathleen Royds to her father, May 2, 1916 (KER/2); Kathleen Royds to Maye, August 19, 1916 (KER/2).

> course, was certainly the sort to tell her off. And I must imagine that sparks might have flown. Bud would have been more subdued because she'd been at the Bank of England and so she'd learned ... [on] which side her bread was buttered. (Royds, Interview)

Kathleen Royds, in her youth, "had been somewhat austere"[12] and although over the years the austerity softened, it never altogether vanished. In later years, it turned instead into an aura of tranquillity and a disarming seriousness that would on occasion be broken by witty sarcasm or wry humour.

While none of the sisters became true "society ladies," the brothers joined the government service's diplomatic "high society." Massy left Cambridge with a Master of Arts degree from St. John's College. Shortly thereafter, in 1902, he passed a competitive examination to work as a Student Interpreter in Japan. By 1909, he had become the Acting Consul in Tainan, and by 1912, the Foreign Office promoted him to the rank of Vice Consul, and he took over duties as the Acting Consul General in Manila. Massy married Doris (Todd) Bromley (widow of Thomas Edward Bromley),[13] October 15, 1914, and their three children born over the next six years provided William and Sarah Royds their only grandchildren. The next two decades saw him moving from the Philippines to the United States (1915-17, 1919-25), Korea (1917), Japan (1918), and Formosa (1918).

Massy's early support for Korean independence was none too popular among his superiors in the Foreign Office, for he "took a very critical view of Japanese colonial policy as a whole and of their methods of handling the [March First Uprising] in particular, while he showed sympathy for the Korean cause" (Ku 138); he even wrote to the Foreign Office "of the fact that the Korean people had attained the capacity to rule themselves" (138). His views, unpopular in the 1910s, laid the foundation for the eventual "readjustment of British foreign policy on Korea" (139).

Upon his appointment as a Consul General in 1926, Massy was sent to Kobe, Japan, where he stayed until his final transfer to Seoul in 1931. It was probably this last time in Seoul that Doris Royds began her translation from the French of Maurice Courant's 200-page introduction to Bibliographie Coreenne, the "largest, most detailed, and most thorough a study of any phase of Korean life and culture yet made by an Occidental."[14] Hers was the first full English translation of Courant's account of "the stores in which Korean books were sold, the loan libraries of his day, the paper, the binding, and the type ... of the invention and development of printing, [etc.]."[15] In 1934, not long

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[12] Memorial notice in Pax et Libertas 32.3 (July-September 1967): 30.

[13] From her former marriage, she had one son, Thomas who "became a very successful diplomat." He was British Ambassador in Mogadishu and then served as a British Ambassador in the Middle East (Royds, Interview).

[14] London Gazette for the year 1935.

[15] Ibid.

after she finished her translation, she and Massy retired to Scotland to breed mink. When that failed they moved to Eastbourne, Hants. He died in 1951, leaving a substantial legacy of over £50,000.[16] Doris, who became a widow for the second time, died about fifteen years later (Royds, Interview).

George Freeman joined the 1/4 Dorsets Regiment during World War I and served in India and Mesopotamia (Iraq). When the war ended, he remained in Iraq and helped lay Baghdad's sewer system (Royds, Interview). Afterwards, he became Director General of the Tapu Land Registry, whose "records ... had to be set up completely afresh as the Turks had destroyed the title deeds of all land in Iraq." He received great honours from both the King of England and the King of Iraq for his work. George Freeman became an Officer of the British Empire (1927) and member of the Iraqi Order of Al Rafidain (1935).[17]

In December 1930, he left the Land Registry to join an archaeological expedition to Gaza headed by the famous, eccentric archaeologist Sir Flinders Petrie. Among the better-funded American Egyptologists, Petrie was a popular man to caricature: "He was thoroughly unkempt, clad in ragged, dirty shirt and trousers, worn-out sandals and no socks. It was one of his numerous idiosyncrasies to prefer that his assistants should emulate his own carelessness, and to pride himself on his own and his staff's Spartan ability to 'rough it' in the field" (Drower 217). And when days became especially scorching, as they were wont to do, he would take to working in his underwear--or even stark naked (38, 313).

George Royds stayed with Petrie through a difficult period in the winter of 1931/2, when almost the entire crew, unhappy with their working conditions, left to work on another dig (390). For three years, George "did much of the surveying for the investigations ... and also produced many on-the-spot drawings of finds."[18] When he returned to England at the end of the expedition in 1934, he was fifty-four. As a result of his bouts of violence and mental instability, George had to be constantly cared for until his death in 1954. (His sisters used the classic line of Empire that it was sunstroke from his years in the Middle East and Africa which precipitated his altered behaviour.) Maye and Bud took turns caring for him, at times with the help of a live-in psychiatrist engaged by Kathleen (Fürstenheim, Interview).

Whether Kathleen Royds envied her brothers' official diplomatic and governmental work is difficult to say; however, in 1945 she complained that "the prejudice and possessiveness which still keep closed to women the doors of the diplomatic, consular, and other government services are long out of date."[19] Politics and history were as much a part of the atmosphere in the Royds's household as they were in the Brontë's (about whom she later wrote), so the territory was not as foreign to Kathleen as to other young girls in the late 1890s and 1900s (Gaskell 54-55). With the doors of the Foreign Service closed to women, Kathleen Royds's interest in politics, history, and literature manifested itself not in

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[16] Times November 21, 1951.

[17] Andover Advertiser March 19, 1954: 1.

[18] Ibid.

[19] "Commentary" WIL Monthly News Sheet (May-June 1945): 3.

an attempt to break into government offices but in a desire to pass on to children an appreciation of these subjects. She decided to train as a teacher, a profession which, along with nursing, had slowly gained ground as a respectable occupation for women. Just as Florence Nightingale turned up her nose at the leisured lifestyle of the "society lady," so too did Kathleen Royds.

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The social side of village life ...
- Life in a Hampshire Village 64

While most people flocked from the rural areas into cities, the Royds family bucked the trend (Stevenson 22). In 1895, William Royds moved his family from Reading to a large hamlet in Hampshire, after hearing its virtues extolled by colleague Dr. Joseph Stevens, who had spent his entire thirty-five year career there. Even after Stevens retired to Reading in 1879, he did not entirely leave the village behind, for no sooner had he removed his doctor's coat, than he had pen in hand poised to write what became his monumental A Parochial History of St. Mary Bourne (1888), which covered the village's social, natural, and archaeological history.[20]

Royds's father was the only provider of licensed medical care in the community for the first two years of his practice. The village did not hire its first paid nurse until 1897. Mrs. Creighton and then Miss Green worked with Dr. Royds to counsel villagers on health matters, deliver babies, care for anyone injured in an accident, and provide hygiene education.[21] William Royds stayed on as the sole doctor for nineteen years.[22]

The Royds family immersed themselves in village affairs soon after their arrival. Kathleen Royds's father, like her paternal uncle Edward, was a teetotaller and temperance advocate.[23] Edward "was very good with children.... [and] was really like [a] sort of pied piper ...

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[20] This is a massive work. As Victor Bonham Carter described it in a BBC Broadcast on 29 November, 1950: "Its 17 chapters cover archaeology and pre-history, notes on Roman and Saxon remains, the Manor, the Summerhaugh, the Church and Chapels, the old Parish books, the School, ancient customs and documents, a list of dialect words, and a section on soils. It is well illustrated with engravings and diagrams, nearly all done by the author" ("Dr. Stevens at St. Mary Bourne").

[21] Village Records 10; Taylor, Interview. Mrs. B.M. Taylor, daughter of the former Miss Green, was one of the babies whose birth Dr. Royds attended.

[22] Dr. Royds retired as village doctor in 1914 and moved with Sarah to Sidcup, Kent, sometime before the outbreak of war.

[23] William came from a very large family, but by the time his daughter Kathleen was born, only the two brothers remained in England. One half-brother had moved to Canada, and their two elder brothers had emigrated to New Zealand, married, and started families. The brothers' only sister, Margery, and their older brother, George F. died in 1856. Both of Kathleen Royds's paternal grandparents died before she was born.

gather[ing] children wherever he went [to] interest them in temperance" (Royds, Interview); he served as Regional Secretary of the Band of Hope (youth division of the temperance movement). William, the older of the two, became President of the Temperance Union and Band of Hope in St. Mary Bourne.[24]

"You see, half the Royds were teetotallers and half of them drank like fish"--well, maybe not like fish, but many were only "social drinkers" (Royds, Interview). Kathleen and her sisters used to say that Massy, unlike George Royds who was made an OBE, probably "never got farther, never got knighted and so on because he was a teetotaller," their reasoning being that "you know what the Diplomatic Service is, the Consular Service, they're all the same. They all drink like fish. Drinking for Britain, they call it..." (Royds, Interview).

Kathleen Royds did not take up temperance activism; however, her father's and uncle's values did have a lasting impact on her sensibilities. In a letter to the editor of the Andover Advertiser, written when she was seventy, Kathleen told the story of a visitor to Norway who found it to be against the law to serve drivers alcoholic beverages. "The Government who passed the law," she wrote, "were not temperance fanatics, but men who decided that accidents due to drink are an evil which, having a recognisable cause, it is only commonsense to avoid, however small their proportion of the total."[25] Kathleen, like her sister Maye who was always "glad to have a glass of sherry," held more moderate views than either their father or their uncle (Royds, Interview), though personally she "disapproved so strongly of drink."[26]

The high value that William Royds placed on reading in his household--one value which Kathleen Royds held at least as strongly as her father--was in part a carry-over from the Band of Hope. "Reward books were given away freely [by the organization] and the printed word in general was held in high esteem as a proof of literacy and morality" (Drotner 91). A testament to her father's conviction that good reading should be placed within the reach of all was, William Royds's support of the St. Mary Bourne Reading Room Society.[27] Also a believer in the value of physical education, he supported the Cricket Club, of which he was President for a time and to which his son George belonged, and encouraged among his daughters participation in various forms of physical activity: walking, tennis, etc.[28]

Sarah Royds kept busy with activities such as the Church Vestry and probably also the Mothers' Union, which shortly after her arrival in the village was "re-started in 1897 after some years' interval" (Innes, St. Mary Bourne Records 14). The other family members as well became involved in church activities. They attended services regularly, and as teenagers, Maye, Bud, Massy, George, Kathleen, and sometimes their sister Dorothy, helped decorate the twelfth-century church for special occasions. Early in the twentieth century, George restored "A fresco

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[24] Royds, Interview; Andover Advertiser October 13, 1905: 8.

[25] Andover Advertiser December 25, 1953: 4.

[26] Cluny Younger to the author, August 12, 1992.

[27] Andover Advertiser April 15, 1904: 8.

[28] Andover Advertiser September 23, 1904: 8; March 19, 1954: 1.

text high up on the West wall of the Wyke Aisle," below which is listed all those from the village who served in the First World War; all other frescoes in the church are illegible (5).

Not only did the Royds's family learn of St. Mary Bourne from Dr. Stevens, but, since his former house was the doctor's official residence, they lived in the very same house. In 1950, Kathleen Royds reminisced about it:

> The house where Dr. Stevens lived lies close to the street in the middle of the village. I have been told that it was converted from two cottages. In his day it was a long low building with no back wing, and a verandah, now partly removed. From one of the rooms a French window opened on to the narrow front garden. Behind was an old farm-like stable with hay loft above. And over a fence there still stands the lovely thatched cottages where Dr. Stevens kept his dogs. The Surgery in his day, and until quite recently, was up a narrow flight of stairs over the coach-house. Its protruding bow window allowed a good view up and down the road, and is still a main feature of the house. As a child I often sat in it to watch processions pass on fête days. On going up the stairs patients were reminded, as by a trade sign, of the Doctor's occupation. Old people still talk of a complete skeleton which was against the wall at the top. A more lively occupant of the Surgery was a parrot whose vocabulary was spicy and extended. If the skeleton frightened youthful patients the parrot provided them with long remembered entertainment. Medicines were made up on the spot in a small dispensary at the back of the Surgery. ("Dr. Joseph Stevens at St. Mary Bourne")

Not much about the doctor's official residence had changed between Dr. Stevens's departure in 1879 and the Royds's arrival. In 1895, however, the house was filled to overflowing with young people and servants, and there was constant vying for space. Kathleen Royds's claim of such a prized spot in the bow window ("a certain divan-like corner of which I <u>always</u> took possession once") would not likely have gone unchallenged, especially on the morning of June 30, 1897, Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee.[29]

At fourteen years old, Kathleen Royds looked forward to celebrations. People scurried about making last-minute adjustments to outfits and parade floats; the village buzzed with activity. In the morning, she sat in the bow window to watch the "procession [down the main street] of carts depicting village trades--baking, harness and rope-making, hurdle making, cobbling, carpentry, a smithy and others."[30] Later that day, she joined everyone else outside to soak in the atmosphere and secure a prime location from which to view the main parade of the day. "First went the Union Jack, then the [brass] Band,

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[29] Kathleen Royds probably to her mother, November 4, 1915. KER/1.

[30] <u>Village Story</u> 16. Innes quotes here from a description of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations published in the Parish Magazine. She says that "This account, 'mutatis mutandis,' gives a picture of the festivities at Jubilees, Coronations and Victory celebrations throughout the 20th Century" (16).

followed by the Village Volunteers. Then the Chief Marshal, representatives of all the Clubs, - Cricket, Bourne Revel, Hants Friendly, Rechabites, Band of Hope, the School, each of the five hamlets - everyone with banners, and this time the Jubilee engine ['a bedecked and beribboned traction engine'] snortled cheerfully in the rear" (Village Story 16).

The Diamond Jubilee came but once; the Flower Show was the main annual celebration. In the early 1900s, Royds's father chaired the organizing committee, which always put on a good show. More than three decades later, Kathleen still remembered the spell such festivities cast on the children:

> Admission to the field was free, and excited children swarmed into it. Pennies saved up for months soon vanished in rides on the shiny-painted horses of the roundabout, which went round and round to the droning music, working up to what seemed to the riders a terrifying speed and then slowing down to the stopping point, and depositing giddy children on the grass again, to fill up with another load. Amid shrieks and laughter, boat-shaped swings were worked up to a height far about [sic] the horizontal, till it seemed as if the occupants must fall out, but they never did....
>
> Coconut shies were a speedy means of dissipating tightly-clutched hoards of pennies. The next throw might always secure a coconut, and only the very cautious refrained after a fixed number. For them, there were stalls of the stickiest of sticky bars of sweetmeats, barley sugar and nuts. (Life in a Hampshire Village 53-4)

Most days were not filled with such excitement, but many pleasant diversions occupied Royds's leisure hours nonetheless. In spring, summer, and autumn she often wandered round the village with a book in hand looking for some shady spot where she might be serenaded by the birds as she sat and read (Dawes, Interview). In winter she went for walks. The doctor's residence was situated near a system of linked footpaths stretching up into the hills above the village. From the top, she could survey the village and look beyond into the rolling hills north and east. At the age of sixty-two, she recalled the pleasures of her early life:

> I grew up as a child in this country, leaving it as an adult to return to live in it again over forty years after I first saw it. Coming back to the same village was an interesting experience. With the familiar externals there were so many indefinable changes, and many obvious ones.... Meanwhile, the countryside remains. The rich scent of newly-turned earth; the exquisite outline of bare trees against the winter sky; the song of the missel-thrush from the topmost branches; the soft brush of nut leaves in the copse after rain; the taste of sun-baked blackberries; the joy of the flower-carpeted woods in spring; these are the permanent background and persist through periods of depression, depopulation, and neglect. (Life in a Hampshire Village 1-2)

Her freedom as a youngster to rove around the countryside and not have to worry about manual or domestic labour was the envy of many young

girls in the village. For most children even the thought of spending a day free from chores and other responsibilities would have been the height of decadence. The only real "days off," for children and adults alike, were fête days and special holiday celebrations; otherwise, there were farms to look after, animals to tend, and businesses to run.

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... views--[not so] meekly accepted--regarding "women's place"
- Hampshire Pilgrimages

Kathleen Royds was a bright child with many interests which expanded rather than diminished when she arrived in St. Mary Bourne at the age of twelve. History rather than modernity marked life in the village, and St. Mary Bourne, unlike Reading, seemed be exist as "living history."[31] St. Peter's Church, especially, she found embodied the village's "history and that of every inhabitant through the centuries" (Life 12). To a young girl, the imposing stone structure dating from Norman times was certainly awe-inspiring after living twelve years in a town in which "No medieval buildings have survived intact" (Wykes 18). St. Peter's Church "contains a Norman arch leading to the chancel, twelfth-century arcades, a fourteenth-century aisle, and a tower dating from the time of Elizabeth" (Life 12). In the graveyard, some grave markers date back to the mid-eighteenth century. "The earliest ... frequently have heads of seraphic cherubs such as may be expected to welcome souls to Paradise.... A little later--possibly under the influence of the evangelical revival, more gloomy reminders of mortality appear in the shape of urns, skull and crossbones, and hour glasses," and nineteenth-century stones were mostly prosaic and uniform (21). The earth inside the churchyard wall, which came within a few inches of the top, "is the only monument remaining to the unnamed, forgotten men and women who lived and worked in the village since the Normans built the church there" (15). The oldest yew tree in the churchyard reputedly dates from Norman times as well (Village Story 4).

To a young girl of twelve this seven-hundred-year-old tree and the appearance every now and then of ancient coins or pottery fragments dug up in fields and gardens provided tangible reminders of the past. And it was probably these reminders that fired Kathleen Royds's passion for history and contributed to her passing the Cambridge Higher Local Honours Examination with Class I Honours with two special distinctions in history. She passed Literature, Logic and Psychology as well as the Languages component in French, German, and Latin with Class II Honours. This impressive academic record afforded the young scholar the opportunity of following in her brother's footsteps by enroling at Cambridge. She became the first woman in her family to do so.[32]

The Cambridge Teacher's Training Diploma, for which Kathleen Royds studied as an external student, required proficiency in the theory, history, and practice of education. Four written examinations consisted of questions on pedagogy and European education since the Revival of Learning (including, for example, the writings of Vittorino da Feltre,

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[31] Life in a Hampshire Village 12. Hereafter cited as "Life" in the text.

[32] This is true, at least, of her father's side of the family.

Richard Mulcaster, Colet and Erasmus and their English Circle, John Milton, and John Amos Comenius); they also tested knowledge of school management and teaching methods.

Her studies were broken off for a period in 1905, when her sister Dorothy Gage died at the age of nineteen, after being sick for many years. Attending Dorothy's funeral were her parents, sisters Kathleen and Bud, brother George (Massy was in Japan at the time), Uncle Edward, her maternal Aunt Mary Elizabeth Spicer and some family friends.[33] Kathleen Royds, twenty-two at the time, was closer in age to Dorothy than were her brothers and sisters who ranged from six to eleven years older. Since she and Dorothy were the youngest girls, and their sisters were more than ten years older, the two probably spent much of their early childhood together in the nursery, but how deeply Kathleen grieved over her sister's death must simply be imagined. Shortly following the funeral, Royds tried again to lose herself in her studies.

In 1907, at the age of twenty-four, Royds obtained her first teaching job. She joined the staff of the St. Katharine's College Practising School likely in order to fulfil the required one year minimum practice teaching before she received certification. As the First Assistant of the Upper Grade (non-Government) Department, her duties included instruction in history and English literature. She obviously received a favourable evaluation, since she was awarded the Cambridge Teachers' Diploma in Theory (Class I) and Practice.[34] In 1910 she became Mistress of Form IV and senior English Mistress at Wycombe House School, Brondesbury, where she taught London Matriculation English, Composition and Literature to the upper forms and provided language instruction in French and/or German.

Royds enjoyed the teaching, but decided to continue her own studies as well. Only a small number of women from her generation had a university education and the thought of receiving a post-secondary degree very much appealed to her. Cambridge did not grant degrees to women at the time, so, setting her sights on a university which did, she began studying for the Honours English and Honours German examinations of London University. To this end, she enroled in a University Extension course taught at Cresham College "on the general history of literature." After completing four terms of study with instructor William Henry Hudson, Royds obtained London University's Chancellor's Diploma in Literature.[35] Graduating first in her class, she was awarded the Gilchrist Medal and the Churton Collins Memorial Prize.[36] W.H. Hudson had high praise for her work: "The excellence ... is sufficiently proved by the fact that in the final examinations at the end of the last three sessions [of her Extension course] she obtained the Certificate of Merit with Special Distinction - a high honour gained on each occasion by one other student only in the course" (KER/5/1).

When Royds neared completion of the "History of Literature" course

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[33] Andover Advertiser September 29, 1905: 8.

[34] Cambridge University Calendar and Requirements for External Students, ca 1906/7.

[35] Not William Henry Hudson the naturalist, about whom she wrote in Hampshire Pilgrimages.

[36] See her Curriculum Vitae, KER/5/1.

in 1911, William Henry Hudson asked her to write a book on Coleridge for his "Poetry and Life" series published by G.G. Harrap. She soon followed Coleridge and his Poetry (1911) with Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her Poetry (1912), also commissioned by Hudson. His encouragement of Royds's literary aspirations did not stop there: he helped her gain experience reading university level papers, hiring her as a marking assistant for his London University Extension lectures on "The Development of Literatures" (KER/5/1). His mentorship gave Royds far more opportunities than she had ever dreamed possible. So in 1930, she dedicated The Bible as Literature, her only other book exclusively on literature, "to W.H.H. in grateful memory."

While Royds was teaching and writing her books for Hudson, she continued preparations for the BA Honours Examinations in English and German literatures and languages. Hudson's course would have taken her through Old English, Middle English, Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, Sidney, Earle, Bunyan, Carlyle, Tennyson, Keats, Shelley, etc.[37] Whether she took a similar course or studied independently for her German Examinations is unclear; however, she managed to get through all the required texts--the Old and Middle High German literature along with selections from Lessing, Wieland, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, and others.[38] The thirty-six hours of examinations over two closely spaced three-day periods were enough to try anyone's nerves; nevertheless, in 1912 she came away from the gruelling effort with a highly respectable Class II Honours in Modern Languages.

By the time Kathleen Royds reached the age of thirty-one in 1914, she had a well-established career teaching and writing and had gained the respect and affection of employers, pupils, and university colleagues alike.[39] And as her training and credentials grew so did her desire for another new challenge, perhaps a university post, for in a 1914 reference letter, William Henry Hudson declared "Miss Kathleen E. Royds to be admirably fitted in every way for the position of a Lecturer in English Literature." He explained that "She has a sound and extensive knowledge of literature, and an excellent grasp of critical principles. She moreover possesses in a marked degree the power of clear thought, orderly arrangement of material, and lucid and interesting exposition" (KER/5/1). She had years of experience teaching children, as well as adults through her job as a London County Council evening lecturer, and grading university-level papers. Whatever came of her application is unknown, but she did not leave her job at Wycombe House School until 1915, and when she did it was not for a university post.

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[37] London University 1912 BA Honours Examination requirements for English.

[38] London University 1912 BA Honours Examination requirements for German.

[39] See, for example, letters from Kathleen Royds to her mother, January 26 and June 5, 1917 (KER/3); reference letters from L. Pindar, Edwin Hobson, W.H. Hudson, Mary L. Huckwell, M.E. Tinkler, Dr. Mary Blair, and M.G. Taylor (KER/5/1).

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... a ship calls at a port

- Peace Hath Her Victories

While Royds had much to be thankful for in 1911, the year also brought its share of sadness. Her Uncle Edward set out alone on the long voyage to visit his two brothers who had moved to New Zealand in the 1850s, married sisters and had nine children each. The family never saw him again. Edward had been advised to remain on board ship when it docked in Naples. He did not, and a succinct handwritten explanation in the margin of The Pedigree of the Family of Royds records his fate: "He was warned not to buy fruit in Naples. There was cholera. He did. He died of cholera." Edward was buried at sea, and his grandson, John Royds, says "that's really all we know about his death" (Royds, Interview).

The death was a blow to William Royds's family as it was to Edward's own. Edward Royds left behind his wife and six grown children, the youngest of whom was twenty-one; the eldest, Edward Thomas Herbert, was thirty-six. Just as William and his brother had been close, so were Kathleen Royds and her first cousin Edward Thomas, eight years her senior. In fact, of all twenty-six first cousins, Edward was probably Royds's dearest relative outside her immediate family.[40] He had received a BA from London University in 1904 and went on to become Head Master of the Milton Abbas Grammar School in Blanchford, Dorset (HP 192). Just as their fathers shared an interest in the temperance movement, the cousins shared an interest in teaching.

Though formally trained in languages and literature, Royds did not confine her studies to these subjects. Beginning in her late twenties she began to see the importance of public health and safety issues. During the First World War, she worked with civilian refugees behind the lines rather than with wounded soldiers at the front, and this gave her a solid understanding of the necessity of hygiene and public safety education--especially regarding ailments such as typhus, malaria, tuberculosis, and cholera. If her great-grandfather's cotton mills increased her sensitivity to working-class issues, her father's medical practice, her sister's ailment and death and her uncle's unfortunate end, similarly increased her interest in medical matters.

This interest lasted well after the war. Royds tried to keep informed about developments in medicine and public hygiene and became especially enthusiastic about League of Nations-sponsored projects. These, she believed, were useful not only because scientists from many nationalities co-operated for the good of humanity, but also because they had the potential to teach politicians something about the proper spirit of international relations.

> In general terms, in the humanitarian sphere, co-operation is recognised as the only sane mode of action. In the political sphere, isolation, the assertion of sovereign rights, gangster

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[40] Edward Thomas acted as an official witness to Kathleen and George Innes's marriage in 1921 along with Maye and Kathleen Royds's mother.

> rule on a large scale, predominate and threaten civilisation with destruction.[41]

In the 1930s, when she penned these words, "gangster rule" and policies of isolationism or aggression were certainly the order of the day; politicians, she argued, should take the lead of scientists and doctors who since the First World War had worked peaceably to everyone's benefit in the humanitarian field (Romance 6).

Several other books and articles by Royds--including How the League of Nations Works (1926), Peace Hath Her Victories (1929), The Story of Nansen and the League of Nations (1931), "The League's Humanitarian Activities" (1931), and The League of Nations, the Complete Story (1936)--stressed the importance of international co-operation in health and humanitarian issues. But only Romance presented detailed accounts of various attempts to contain and treat cases of cholera, tuberculosis, malaria, typhus, smallpox, enteric and dengue fevers, leprosy, cancer and other diseases or epidemics. "Direct assistance [of affected populations] is, of course, essential"; however, "most important for the prevention of epidemic diseases is the collection and dissemination of information about their incidence, frequency, and so on, and in this field the Health Section has, from the beginning, done most valuable work" (Romance 17-18). Education--whether in culture or in health--topped her list of priorities for more than sixty years.

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> ... what she says is fired by a genuineness and an enthusiasm which give it vitality and weight.
> - Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her Poetry

Somehow in a densely packed life of studying and writing, Kathleen Royds accomplished her teaching tasks with distinction. She garnered praise from employers and co-workers alike as a strict disciplinarian who "wins the respect and affection of her pupils" (KER/5/1). That she had admirers among her students is undoubted, if the birthday cards sent to her for more than five years by at least one former pupil after she left St. Katharine's were any indication.[42] Like the teacher Vera Brittain so highly praised in Testament of Youth, Royds must also have taken her "ardent though always discreet feminis[m]" (38) into the classroom.

Opinions on history and women's rights, literature and women authors, which she no doubt passed on to students, may be found in her book on Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Although she found it "extremely doubtful if poetry and politics ever mix, without detriment at any rate to the poetry" (Browning 126), Royds did give the poetry high marks for finally bringing to literature a woman's viewpoint:

> As Fanny Burney and Jane Austen found woman's field in fiction for the beginning of the century, so Mrs. Browning excelled in her province simply by being true to her own inner experience.

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[41] The Romance of the Health Work of the League of Nations 61-2. Hereafter cited as "Romance" in text.

[42] Kathleen Royds to her mother, January 26, 1917. KER/3.

> Thus she takes her place among the earliest group of women writers whose work helped bring about a great change in the conception of the heroine in literature. When women began to reveal themselves as they really were, and wrote themselves down as very ordinary humans in faults and virtues, in aspirations and emotions, the death-blow was struck at the colourless and uninteresting "pink-and-white" heroines of earlier fiction. (130)

Royds placed Barrett Browning within a strong tradition of women writers including Fanny Burney, Jane Austen, Christina Rossetti and Jean Ingelow (129) who were beginning to receive critical acclaim, in part, Royds argued, because of "the advance of democracy" in the nineteenth century.

> The principle on which democratic theory is based, that every unit counts for one, rendered it inevitable that the "women's movement" should take its rise with and be involved in its progress. Women, as a body, awoke to self-realisation in the nineteenth century; and with this they became articulate as a distinct force in the literature of the age. (11)

That Kathleen Royds imparted to her students this respect for the women's movement was almost inevitable. Any practice of true democracy, she believed, necessarily entailed the extension of equal rights to all citizens--women and minorities included. But more than this (if we can take as an accurate appraisal of her pre-war thought the contents of a letter written in 1919), she wanted her students to appreciate other cultures and develop an international spirit.

> The development of imagination should be one of the chief claims of education, both as a necessary preliminary to constructive effort, and in order that we may enter into the lives of others, whether those of another class in the same nation or of members in another nation, as the inevitable outcome of sympathetic understanding, and not merely a matter of intellectual assent.[43]

This letter (the summary of a group discussion) clearly expressed Royds's own views, the seeds of which had already begun to sprout in her book on Barrett Browning. Royds faulted "Casa Guidi Windows" for its "spontaneous enthusiasm [which] often lapses into bombast; its satire into violence" (Browning 124), but that was not sufficient reason to disregard the work, which

> is not without interest historically; for it is the outcome of a spirit that is wholly of nineteenth-century growth, - the passion for freedom which transcends the limitations of country, race, and creed in a common sympathy of human brotherhood. (124)

Young pupils under Royds's tutelage and adults in her evening classes would have learned about internationalism, democracy, and the importance of women's views. Whether her young pupils knew it or not,

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[43] Kathleen Innes to Emily Balch, July 21, 1919. WILPF II-12-13.

they studied in one of the few classrooms to provide shelter from the heated nationalistic and patriotic instruction found in most, especially boys', schools (Stevenson 48). "A whole generation [of boys] had been brought up on the boys books of G.A. Henty, the Boys' Own Paper, the tales of Rider Haggard and best-selling accounts of the Boer War which promoted an image of war as both honourable and glorious" (Stevenson 49). In fact, images of war during the Edwardian years were not at all uncommon as antagonism grew between England and Germany.[44] Royds's students, on the other hand, would have learned--in a country gripped by an increasingly militaristic atmosphere--to value peace and not to look so quickly for militaristic solutions to disputes.

A hint of Royds's pacifist leanings can be found in her book on Coleridge. She expressly pointed to his brief flirtation with the "15th or King's Regiment of Light Dragoons" as an "erratic and irresponsible" act by such an "ardent revolutionary, hater of war" (Coleridge and his Poetry 21). She was not, however, beyond seeing some humour in the fact that he had joined a mounted regiment even though "He could neither ride nor look after his horse, and tradition says that he used to write verses and love-letters for the soldiers in return for their grooming it" (21). Soon friends secured his release, but not before he carved a despairing note in a stable wall at Reading's Bear Inn, which "was for many years an object of pilgrimage by his admirers" (Wykes 30).

Perhaps sensitive to all the militaristic displays of Edwardian England, perhaps disputing history's and literature's representation of glorious battles fought for God and the monarch by brave Dukes of Wellington and Redcrosse knights, Royds remained unconvinced of the honour and glory of battle. It was this pacifist spirit which she conveyed to her students in a period of worsening relations among men and women over suffrage and among nations over international politics.

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Really modern war -

- [Diary] "Berlin to London. August 1914"

Royds hoped to acquire a more "sympathetic understanding" of Germany by spending her summer holiday of 1914 in Berlin, probably attending a summer school. Like Coleridge, she went to practice her German and imbibe the atmosphere of another culture. When she left England sometime in mid-July, she could not have known that she would soon find herself an "enemy" on foreign soil, because Britain's relation with Germany had not then begun seriously to deteriorate. On August 9, however, five days after Britain went to war with Germany, she recognized the precariousness of her situation and packed her bags for a premature trip home.[45] Realising the momentous nature of her circumstances, Royds began a diary of the 10-day journey from Berlin to London, which took her through Hamburg to Rendsburg on the Kiel Canal to

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[44] See Cate Haste, Chapter 2: "The Road to War," Keep the Home Fires Burning.

[45] Stevenson, 47; Kathleen Royds's diary from 1914, Imperial War Museum (KER/5/2). All subsequent references to this diary will appear as "Berlin to London" in the text.

Woyens on the German-Danish border to Copenhagen and by ship to Leith, Scotland, thence to London.

Taken as a whole the diary presents a picture of Royds as a woman not short on self-confidence and determination. An "enemy" foreign woman walking around Berlin streets during wartime could not be guaranteed complete security of person; nevertheless, once Royds resolved to "buy a hand-bag to take as much as possible," she would not be deterred by others' reluctance to go outside. "When I said I was going whether anyone else did or not, Miss Gavin said she would come too." The two headed out to make their purchases, then decided to pay a quick visit to the police headquarters to get their papers in order. Before they knew it, they had been shunted off to the War Bureau. "The official I think first thought we were American," Royds recounted. "A very pleasant smile vanished for a minute when he heard 'English', but he recovered & assured us we could go, no hindrances would be put in our way." In this, apparently the official was not wrong. The group--Kathleen Royds, Miss Gavin, Miss Rae, Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Panes--was not targeted by the government for overt hostile actions, but being "enemy" foreigners made their journey more arduous. Each interrogation and search brought the possibility of detention, and individual citizens occasionally proved unfriendly ("Berlin to London" passim).

Throughout the ordeal, Royds kept up her spirits and even thrived on the excitement; having nothing to hide, she felt herself in no immediate personal danger--though she maintained her usual cautious reserve. The trip from Berlin to Hamburg gave Royds her first real experience with overt hostility. In the train, she and her companions did not fill a carriage, so a sailor going to meet his ship shared it with them. "Discovering we were English, he became decidedly suspicious & aggressive even," she recalled. Fortunately, after a brief discussion, the sailor "grew much more friendly; [and] evidently believed our account of ourselves." Still, she continued,

> He was not an altogether peaceful night-companion, but the aggressiveness was involuntary. In the morning he spoke almost shyly of 'fighting for his country', showed us his summons, told us 'our sailors are not paid, yours are paid, that is the difference', said it was 'death with honour' if he died; took some sandwiches, & then at Hamburg rushed from the carriage, as if he was almost ashamed of having parleyed with the enemy & without 'adieu'. ("Berlin to London," August 9, 1914)

Royds's understanding of this man lacks the hostility of press accounts appearing in The Times in London or of opinions that gradually appeared in British fiction and non-fiction during the war.[46] The Times

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[46] See, for example, John Buchan's representation of Ulrich von Stumm in Greenmantle (1916) and the outright hostility to Germans in May Sinclair's The Tree of Heaven (1917). Ford Madox Ford's When Blood Is Their Argument (1915) and Between St. Dennis and St. George (1915) also overflow with anti-German rhetoric.

In contrast, Rose Macaulay's Non-Combatants and Others (1916) contains a severely critical portrayal of Mrs. Frampton's anti-German feelings, and H.G. Well's Mr. Britling Sees It Through (1916) parades common anti-German attitudes only to shatter them at the end.

Educational Supplement of September 1, 1914, for example, ran an article on "Pan-Germanism: The German Professor in Politics" which began:

> Five years after the war of 1870 there appeared in a professorial chair in Berlin a man ... [named] Heinrich von Treitschke. Never since the days when Germany was under the heel of Napoleon, and Fichte sent his messages of hope and patriotic ardour through the youth of the nation, had a German professor made the heart of the people throb to his utterances as it throbbed for 20 years to the words of Treitschke.

Under the heading "Hatred of England" in this article the writer proclaimed: "Against England, the Power which of all others stood most conspicuously in Germany's way[,] ... he never ceased to direct the hatred and contempt of young Germany."[47] Treitschke supported the German government's decision in the 1870s and 1880s to suppress Catholics, Poles, and Socialists, and to attack Jews publicly, and to continue in its fiercely anti-British views. Treitschke's decidedly anti-democratic, bigoted views made him an easy target for British writers eager to incite a patriotic response from their fellow citizens by demonizing their enemy.

Three weeks later the Times ran an article "The Beauty of War: Russian Officer's Experiences: Troops Singing in Battle," which may also be taken as standard fare for British readers of the daily press. Under a section headed "Behaviour of the German People," Stephen Graham reported his conversation with a Russian officer:

> "How do the Germans behave?"
> "Nevazhno, not very well. They shoot at us. They spy a great deal, and have been able to give much information by means of subterranean telephone. We could not understand how it was the German artillery fire was so skilfully diverted till we discovered the underground telephone. In a basement cellar one day we actually found an 85-year-old crone telephoning to the enemy. During our questioning of her she had a fit and died of fright."[48]

Kathleen Royds's characterization of the German soldier she met on the train not only showed respect and a lack of hostility but demonstrated her scepticism of the sailor's motivations for participating in war. She did not mean to suggest that his possible death would be without honour, but that it should have been avoidable.

The communication gap between Royds's party and the sailor had nothing to do with language; it had everything to do with attitudes toward war. The sailor's abrupt and abashed exit gave Royds a taste of the distrust fostered by national hostilities. The German sailor's insistence on differentiating himself from his British counterpart

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[47] Times Educational Supplement September 1, 1914: 143. The popular view of Nietzsche (now recognized to be largely a product of his sister's selective editing of his works) sees him as having something in common with Treitschke--namely, anti-Semitism. However, Nietzsche roundly disparaged him more than once (Nietzsche 187-188n22).

[48] Times September 24, 1914.

(German "'sailors are not paid, yours are paid, that is the difference'") revealed one of the most pernicious effects of war, which Royds would later decry: the tendency of distinguishing oneself from the "enemy" made justification of hatred and killing too easy. It might have been her experience of this artificiality and destructiveness of wartime relations that prompted her to retain a life-long suspicion of appeals to the essential dissimilarity of peoples and cultures and to believe that no matter how different individuals or cultures may seem, there would always be some point of commonality.

In Hamburg, Royds and her friends were again held up by the "Head (as we found) of the Kriminal Polizei." After a search of their baggage and another interrogation, the man became friendly and helpful, arranging space for them on a military train destined for the German-Danish border. Once aboard, they had few problems and met a pleasant group of soldiers heading off to meet their regiments. "An extremely nice man talked to us all, gave us a banana & shared our chocolate, & finally had a long discussion with me on the Suffrage - which under the circumstances was a very safe subject, - though it left me hot!" That Royds considered suffrage to be a "very safe subject" revealed how quickly topical national issues lost their "radical" edge in an international war ("Berlin to London," August 10, 1914).

Royds engaged in conversation with another man on that train, a soldier who "had just come from London." Unlike the sailor ashamed of speaking with the "enemy," this German soldier "loved London & the English & counts on going back" ("Berlin to London," August 10, 1914). War to this soldier seemed to be only an interruption in cordial relations. He, like Royds, evinced no categorical distrust simply because the two countries were at war. His appreciation of Britain, like hers of Germany, was based on first-hand experience and probably the development of friendships there.[49]

Their conversation was cut short when, approaching the Kiel Canal, passengers were told to get off the train. They were given instructions to walk three miles "to the other end of the bridge" (somehow managing their baggage too), where they "<u>might</u> get the train."

> All carriages were taken before our inspection was over. Luckily Mr Walsh secured a hand-truck on two wheels, from two small boys. Our luggage alone was too much for it, but other people also were desperate. It was piled till it creaked - till its rickety handle bent, & till the little boys could no more move it than fly. Mr Walsh, Mr Panes & a German set off to take it in turns. Without prejudice I may record that the German's turns were few & far between. I tried to hold up one side for a bit, but retired - like the German - about halfway where a sort of hollow in the road was filled about a foot deep with dust. The road was - not a triumph of engineering. Where there was not dust, lay blocks of stone or ruts. Soldiers had been using it. 5000 were guarding the Bridge. Our procession amused but didn't gain offers of help... ("Diary 1914)

Kathleen Royds, Miss Gavin, Miss Rae, Mr. Panes, and Mr. Walsh finally

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[49] She mentions the importance of cross-cultural friendships in several works, notably in her discussion of the Book of Ruth in <u>The Bible as Literature</u> and in <u>Defence of the Weak</u>.

arrived at the appointed destination only to discover their train had not waited.

The group, therefore, put in for the night at a nearby hotel and awoke to a thunderstorm at 3am. Their 5 o'clock train was late, but eventually arrived to take on the weary travellers. After further stops and starts, train-changes, and searches, the party arrived in the border town of Woyens more than fifteen hours later. Royds and her friends took a cold meal in a local hotel ("Hot food of any kind could only be obtained by soldiers") and were subjected to more taunts from troops, who loudly proclaimed "the uselessness of England thinking she could crush such a 'fleissiges, strebesarmes Volk' [hard-working, driven people] as the Germans" ("Berlin to London," August 11, 1914).

Soon the party were back on a train this time headed to Vandrup, Denmark. Here they found themselves amidst lively company. First there was the "chap" who took a liking to Royds. She didn't feel the same attraction: "There was this one chap who wanted to find out who I was, so he tried talkin' & I slept. Then he offered me cigars & chocolates. I just took 'em one after another - & grunted - & never said a word. But I took all he'd give me." Then there was the very animated Yorkshireman who inspired Royds's imagination. (The few pages of her diary describing the encounter with this "happy man with only one point of view" read like pages from a novel.) This Yorkshire manager of factories in Germany wholeheartedly believed that Germans were incapable of hard work and without reservation proclaimed "They are da-aft." Said Royds with palpable contempt: "he had no respect for the German workman."

> The train went on & all slept but Miss Rae & me. A little station was reached; a long wait - then into the silence of the sleeping carriage was shouted the order to get out with luggage, on to the platform. Miss Gavin had a sudden fear, that here, at the last moment, we should be stopped & the men arrested.
>
> "Why are they making us do this?" she asked in alarm.
>
> The Yorkshireman rolled over from his slumbers.
>
> "Why?" he asked, rubbing his eyes. "Oh - only because they're da-aft."
>
> It was a short inspection - quite disappointing in its want of suspicion.
>
> "These two aren't ever satisfied unless they're arrested at least once every wait," remarked the American lady.
>
> The Yorkshireman quickly took up the cue.
>
> "I was arrested just now down at Woyens. When we were turned out of the hotel, there wasn't anywhere to go so I just went for a walk; & before I'd gone 20 yards up claps a sentry & takes me off 'long a path & through a bit of wood to his orficer. The chap was in bed in his tent & had to wake up get out half dressed to look at me. He just looked at my papers & told the sentry to take me back again. Silly idiot - never thought of looking at my papers himself. If I'd had time I'd have gone again & got arrested two or three times, just to make him get the officer out of bed & make him wild."
>
> "You might have been shot."
>
> "I shot - 'twas the silly fool of a sentry ought to have been shot for not havin' more sense."

> And it evidently never occurred to him to think that in war-time it is not always the man who 'ought' to get shot, who gets shot! ("Berlin to London," August 12, 1914)

Just as the Yorkshireman caricatured the Germans, so Royds caricatured her fellow countryman in order to lampoon his sweeping generalizations. His lack of tolerance and common sense, she recognized (if he had not), could have gotten him into trouble. But more than that, she questioned his assumptions about the Germans.

Crossing into the non-belligerent Denmark lessened everyone's tensions, and from that point on, Royds's journey was less stressful. She, therefore, took advantage of the unforeseen opportunity to tour another city. She and her party spent two nights in Copenhagen (August 12 and 13), and as she recorded, their arrival came none too soon: "I forgot to mention that I have up to the present [the evening of the day they arrived] failed to decide whether the bath, or brushing my hair on arrival, was the pleasantest sensation I have ever experienced"; since setting out on August 9, there had been few occasions between trains to indulge in such luxuries ("Berlin to London," August 12, 1914).

After dinner and a refreshing night's sleep, Royds and her companions arranged the last leg of their journey home, booking space on a supply ship that was to leave the next day for Leith, Scotland. They had no trouble filling their time in Copenhagen:

> That day we saw about the town - a jolly little place - 'Auf Wiedersehen' I hope; tried to read Danish telegrams on the war, & got quite skilled at making out the sense. I was brazen enough (by accident) to get a German to translate English successes for me once. In the evening we went to Tivoli, & had a pure frivol! scenic railway, roundabout, minute photography etc. etc. a most romantic dumb-show by Russian dancers & - mosquitoes! ("Berlin to London," August 13, 1914)

August 14 came and Royds prepared for another long journey. Since the ship did not leave till late afternoon, she and her two female companions went to the Thorwolden Museum to pass a few otherwise idle hours. Royds was deeply impressed: "The best pieces are Mercury - cunning & alert waiting for a message & 'Ganymede & the Eagle'. I was interested in a huge figure of Joseph Poniatowski & bought a photograph." That afternoon she took in another museum, the Glyptothek, and became enamoured by the Rodin, Sinding, and Dubois. "The modern sculpture is hot & passionate. Rodin's 'The Kiss' & Sinding's 'Barbarkiruder' burn with the primitive" ("Berlin to London," August 14, 1914).

In comparison to her exploits reaching Copenhagen, the return to Great Britain was uneventful. "As we went out flashlights, like great snakes of light leaping over the water & catching us every now and then, reminded us of war, but on the voyage we saw no English or German ships - & very few at all. We had two glorious days of absolute calm, sun & changing colours." Only two incidents on board stood out in her mind: the captain's "horror when a loquacious American lady suggested that if the war went on he'd have to have a crew of women" and ordering "large helpings of 'Schnaps' [sic] all round - taking it for mineral water" ("Berlin to London," August 14, 1914). (She neglected to mention whether her temperance-advocate father would have been as amused.)

Royds arrived at her parents home in Sidcup safe but tired on August 19. The next term at Wycombe House School must have passed serenely compared to recent exploits, but she did not stay long. By the summer of 1915, Royds had joined a unit of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, ready for a change of pace from teaching. Although many middle-class women raised during the Victorian period were given an education that would allow them to become economically independent, many were still encouraged by parents "to become good Victorian wives and mothers" (Drotner 136). Kathleen Royds did not aspire to marriage and motherhood as the end of her existence. Such a prospect to her seemed, as it did to Florence Nightingale, "utterly depressing and the limitations of women's domestic life ... nauseating" (Hampshire Pilgrimages 16-17). Royds put the Victorian period and all it stood for behind her as best she could and strode forth into a world at war with a newly intensified mission. She left the classroom and began preparations for another journey to the continent.

Chapter 2
"Pacifist information was not a great success," 1914-1918

> Both men and women are afraid of seeing the truth about something upheld by the vast majority.
>
> - Women and War

In 1914 nationalistic fervour gripped the nation. War with the Teutonic "arch-enemy of civilization" had taken on the dimensions of a war against all the modern "ills" of society: decadence, modernism, suffrage and trades union agitation, and perceived German cultural imperialism.[1] Britain fought the battle not only in the trenches but in schools and universities as well, with the "campaign to denigrate German culture" (Baldick 88). Pacifists were as scarce during the war as men had been at suffrage rallies.

Prior to 1914, Kathleen Royds moved within the academic community and may even have been involved among the rank and file of the constitutional suffragist movement.[2] After Britain entered the war, she became an alien in both communities, so rather than remaining helpless and alienated at home, she accepted the invitation to join a relief organization. Aiding civilians hurt by war would be more productive than remaining in England only to read daily press accounts of civilian suffering on the continent.

When Kathleen Royds returned from Germany on August 19, 1914, she found a barrage of patriotic propaganda in educational publications such as the Times Educational Supplement. An editorial printed on September 1 typifies the widespread institutional endorsement of the war. Strenuously defending Britain's war as honourable, it claimed that "The justice, the necessity of our cause is sufficiently obvious to all thoughtful men and women--to historians most of all it is as clear as

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[1] See Samuel Hynes, A War Imagined, especially Part I. One striking example of the response to Germany as a threat to British culture is an open letter published in the New York Times of October 18th, 1914 with the headline "Fifty-Three of the Best Known Writers of the Empire Sign a Vigorous Document Saying that Britain Could Not Have Refused to Join the War Without Dishonour." The full-page notice consisted of a statement defending the war along with a brief bio-bibliographical listing of signatories. Among these signatories were William Archer, J.M. Barrie, Hilaire Belloc, Arnold Bennett, Laurence Binyon, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, John Galsworthy, Sir Henry Rider Haggard, Jane Ellen Harrison, Rudyard Kipling, Gilbert Murray, May Sinclair, and Mr. and Mrs. Humphry Ward (Buitenhuis facing page 18).

[2] Constitutional suffragists following Millicent Garrett Fawcett in the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies did not engage in or support the activities of the militant suffragettes who followed the Pankhursts's Women's Social and Political Union. Evidence suggests Royds was committed to woman suffrage ("Berlin to London," August 10, 1914) and read suffrage literature (see e.g. Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, November 25, 1915; KER/1). Moreover, the NUWSS sponsored the Scottish Women's Hospitals, which she was asked to join.

crystal."[3] As a teacher of both history and German, Kathleen Royds would have taken issue with the editorial's insistence that teachers' task in wartime was "to arm [students'] hearts and gird them with the unfaltering resolve" to "fight the military oligarchy of Berlin." She strongly believed that educators should not promote virulent hostility regardless of the circumstances; painting everyone with the same brush fed bigotry and self-righteousness. In her opinion, teaching that stooped to such tactics was jingoism disguised as scholarship.

Patriotism ran as high in universities as in schools. Arthur Quiller-Couch led this attack at Cambridge, while at Oxford Walter Raleigh busily denounced "'German University culture [as] mere evil.'"[4] Just as the Times Educational Supplement tried to convince teachers of their usefulness in the classroom during the war, so literary scholars tried to convince both academics and the public that the study of English literature was itself a patriotic activity--it buttressed England against German cultural offensives, argued Prof. Ernest de Selincourt, one of Kathleen Royds's BA examiners.[5]

Royds strongly disagreed with de Selincourt's excessively nationalistic view of English literature--so much so, that after the war she lobbied for education that would present the English literary tradition's richness but not participate in the wartime aim of promoting across five continents English literature's "intrinsic value" as the dominant world literature. Such a move, she believed, was no different from the putative German cultural imperialism against which England fought.

Part of the sweeping away of German influences on British education involved the ostracism of scholars with a German heritage. So while one of her BA examiners lectured with nationalistic fervour, another, Prof. Bruel, suffered the consequences of his heritage by being "effectively disenfranchised" within the academic community.[6]

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[3] Times Educational Supplement September 1, 1914: 149.

[4] Baldick 88. There was, of course, a double thrust to their remarks. Not only was England at war with Germany, but certain factions within both major universities were attempting to establish English Studies as a discipline in its own right "virtually free" from German-influenced philology (89).

[5] London University BA Honours English Examination Papers for 1912; Baldick 91-2. Samuel Hynes describes the extent to which "patriotism" gripped England and set its citizens against anything German, even music. Two English composers, Josef Holbrooke and Isidore de Lara, established a series of All-English concerts, featuring only English composers, in an attempt to draw on the public's patriotism. The concerts failed, mostly because the English concert-going public was not willing to give up Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, and Wagner; however, after their 1915 series, more British composers were included on concert programs. Slightly more popular were the No-German concerts, if only for the reason that Thomas Beecham, the series planner, "didn't tell them [the public] that it was patriotic to listen" to music they had no desire to hear (Hynes 76-77).

[6] London University BA Honours German Examination Papers for 1912; Baldick 89.

Neither culture nor education escaped anti-German sentiment, nor did religion. The relationship between Protestantism and militarism had grown ever closer through the mid-Victorian period when soldiers of the Crimean War and the so-called "Indian Mutiny" became "object[s] of evangelical compassion" (Summers 248). By the late 1880s and into the early 1900s, during Kathleen Royds's adolescence and young adulthood, military heroes were surrounded by an "intense aura of sanctity" (249). Christian youth societies, such as Boys' Brigades and Church Lads' Brigades, began to present military regimentation as a form of spiritual discipline. The Church of England even went so far as affiliating their Anglican Church Lads' Brigade with the King's Royal Rifles Cadets (252). This close association of religion and militarism made it possible "to mystify the function of the soldier to such an extent that it could be presented almost purely as an exercise of the soul" (252). Vera Brittain picked up on this in Testament of Youth when she described the allure of war as a "keying up of the spirit in a time of mortal conflict" and a "challenge to spiritual endurance" (291).

The English literary tradition, which Kathleen Royds knew well, similarly associated spirituality and militarism. Bunyan's Christian and Spenser's Redcrosse knight came to symbolize valiant citizens ready to fight to the death if necessary to protect British/Christian values. In fact, Pilgrim's Progress became one of the most popular literary works among British soldiers because it provided a framework for interpreting their experiences in the trenches (Fussell 137-144). It also provided a fitting source (along with the Bible, Hindu poetry, and contemporary verse) for John Fould's World Requiem, a musical monument to the First World war first performed on Armistice Night 1923 (Hynes, A War Imagined 275). Such English classics without doubt appealed to literature scholars who could take comfort that, though not in the trenches, they were nevertheless engaged in fierce battles with the relentless Teutonic Apollyon or the dragon of German culture.

Militarism saturated the air in pre-war Britain. But of course, not everyone embraced the notion that it offered the only protection of national and international interests. Kathleen Royds found her home within communities which employed more pacific forms of expression--notably the Society of Friends and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She stood apart from the majority, whom she believed did not see the "truth" about war.

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> I think it is remarkable that so many Societies of women as such, have organized themselves into groups ...
>
> - Women and War

Dr. Elsie Inglis, a member of the Scottish Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies (SFWSS), established the Scottish Women's Hospitals (SWH) in 1914 as an all-female medical relief organization (E. McLaren 3-4). Both the SFWSS and its parent organization, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) led by Millicent Garrett Fawcett, endorsed the project and began immediately to raise funds.[7] With the

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[7] Innes might very well have been involved with this organisation, though I have not yet found any records confirming her membership. In a later book review of Sylvia Pankhursts's The Suffrage Movement, which

machinery of a well-established suffrage movement behind them, the Scottish Women's Hospitals had soon raised enough money to equip a small number of units. The financial support was inspiring: in only five months "the funds in hand were over six thousand five hundred and seven pounds" and Girton and Newnham Colleges promised to raise £1500 more for another unit (E. McLaren 8). By the end of the war, £449,000 had poured in.

The SWH made a unique contribution to the British war relief effort. Many field hospitals and relief agencies worked on the continent during the war, but few were "'manned' from end to end by women, and women only" and few could claim that their plan "had originated in the brain of a woman, and ... [that the units] were equipped and controlled by a women's society in Britain" (E. McLaren 3).[8] As a result, they met tremendous resistance at the beginning. The British War Office did not want women in the field alone and curtly turned down their offer of a hospital unit (5). Only after the SWH workers had proved themselves in the service of Britain's allies did Winston Churchill, British Secretary of State for War, praise their work. He remembered history differently from the women: "It is a pleasure," he wrote, "for me to remember that in the early days of the war I had the opportunity of furthering their efforts" (qtd in E. McLaren ix).

Inglis did not give up on her idea and contacted other Allied governments in the hope that at least one would be more disposed to accept the offer. In November 1914, the French Government agreed to take a unit, and later that month word came that the Serbian Government had also accepted the offer. The Scottish Women's Hospitals served in France for four years, "and over three years in Salonika. With the exception of the first four months, the Scottish Women worked for the Serbian nation during the whole war, through all their changing fortunes" (E. McLaren vii-viii). The relief camps in Corsica, where Kathleen Royds spent two years, were in operation from December 1915 to April 1919, and she was there at the beginning to help establish SWH facilities.

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appeared in The Friend, she indicates strong interest in the non-violent suffrage factions such as the NUWSS. Throughout her life, she kept informed about suffrage activities in other countries and was called upon at meetings of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to report on these activities (see, for example, WILPFm I:A:16).

[8] I know of only one novel written during the First World War that took as its subject relief unit run and staffed by women only. E.M. Delafield's The War-Workers follows the lives of workers in the fictional Midland Supply Depot, a relief organization conceived of and run by Charmain Vivian. The depot, however, operated in England and had no mobile continental units.

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> The Serbs know their own history as few races know theirs....
> Faith in the future is their final inheritance.
> - draft MS, "The Serb as Refugee"

Early in the war, Serbia's strong resistance to Austrian forces captured the attention of leading British intellectuals and journalists. Robert William Seton-Watson, George Macaulay Trevelyan, Sir Arthur Evans, and Henry Wickham Steed pressed for Allied support of the Serbian nation.[9] As Seton-Watson (Honourary Secretary of the London-based Serbian Relief Fund) told a small drawing-room meeting in London on June 9, 1915, Serbia "was the only one of the Allies who had expelled the enemy from her native soil" and, therefore, deserved support.[10]

By the outbreak of World War I, Serbia had emerged from the two Balkan Wars (1912-1913) with a territory which had grown from 48,300 square kilometres and a population of 2.9 million people to 87,300 square kilometres and 4.4 million people. The Austro-Hungarian Empire viewed the newly expanded nation as a considerable threat to its own claims in the region (Austro-Hungary had annexed Bosnia-Hercegovena in 1908) and tensions ran high.[11]

The London Times provided extensive coverage of the Balkan Wars, on many days devoting an entire page replete with maps, diagrams and other visual aids. But the fact that Serbia (along with other Balkan states) made the news so often did not guarantee that outsiders would be sympathetic observers. In fact, the likelihood of Allied support for Serbia dwindled when it became known that a Serbian man had assassinated the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince.[12]

A constellation of factors led to the outbreak of World War I, but the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, tipped the scales in the direction of war. On July 28, 1914, when Kathleen Royds was studying in Berlin, Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia. By November the Serbians had withdrawn from Valyevo in the north. On December 2 the Serbians evacuated Belgrade yet managed in spite of adversity to retake it thirteen days later. This time the Serbians had not simply held back the Austrian forces, but had expelled them. Austro-Hungary pulled out of Belgrade, yet it "left behind not only its dead and imprisoned soldiers, but also a disease which was to

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[9] Henry Wickham Steed, chairman of the Serbian Society from 1917-1918, and Sir Arthur Evans, member of the Serbian Society Executive Committee, worked together for several years on behalf of Serbians (Seton-Watson 24). Trevelyan, too, was interested in Serbian affairs, as his correspondence with Seton-Watson demonstrates.

[10] Times June 10, 1915.

[11] Pavlovich 190. Though Austro-Hungary might have viewed Serbia as a threat because of its size, it is likely to suppose that not all was well within the new borders of Serbia. After a war--especially when territory is forcibly taken--many people in the annexed area(s) resist the new state of affairs. Not all 1.5 million people in the new Serbia would have favoured Serbia's expansion.

[12] Times March 28, 1916.

be more devastating than any military offensive"--typhus (Pavlovich 197). The legacy of disease and the expulsion of a large empire's troops from Serbian soil awakened British citizens' sympathy for their allies. The government, on the other hand, remained unresponsive to pleas for help even when Serbia "complained bitterly" (Sforza 124).

It was against this backdrop of events that Seton-Watson told the drawing-room crowd, convened to raise funds for the SWH London units, that Britain should stand behind its worthy ally and give them hope for the future.

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> The only annoying part is being so near a 'new' country & not being able to land!
>
> - Kathleen Royds to her mother

The month of October 1915 saw Kathleen Royds on her way to Salonika. She settled into London's Ardway Hotel on October 7 to await the morning journey from Waterloo Station, not bothering to unpack her carefully stowed new uniform, personal effects, and an ample supply of books, then joined friends for a pleasant farewell dinner.[13] Returning to the hotel, she, Clive, and Lydia "sat in bedroom, which I am sharing with [an] unknown (as yet) clerk for Valyevo Hospital,"[14] and cheerfully bantered about the mysterious roommate. The next morning, Kathleen Royds recorded in her diary:

> She has a nightcap of fine lace adorned with pink roses & blue silk rosettes, a lacy night-dress with pink ribbons, & a silk flowered dressing-gown, bedroom slippers- pink silk high-heeled from Paris. It is impossible to live up to this. I put out my natural wool nightdress & decide to use my large coat as a dressing-gown, dispensing with bedroom slippers. Where competition is impossible, contrast is the only possible retaliation.
>
> She turns out quite nice, but with silk underclothing, & a bag with elaborate silver fittings. I wonder how many will come back. The nightcap apparently is only meant for ornament. It remains unpacked adorning the bed-post all night. A pink ribbon for the hair at night matches that on the night-dress. ("To Serbia," October 7, 1915)

Lydia and Clive appeared at Waterloo station in the morning to say goodbye. "It was very jolly being seen off. L. brought me a cap to enter into competition in future!" Royds recorded with amusement.

During the voyage to Salonika, she became better acquainted with

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[13] Scottish Women's Hospital orderlies were given wardrobes that consisted of several blue cotton dresses, overalls, and "mob" caps; a dark blue coat and cape; a grey alpaca coat both with S.W.H. written on the sleeve; and summer, winter, and garden hats (SWH 304/4).

[14] "To Serbia" [diary] KER/5/3. Hereafter cited in text as "To Serbia." I have not been able to identify Clive; however, "Lydia" is probably the Lydia de Swiet who after Kathleen Royds Innes's death is quoted in a memorial published in Pax et Libertas.

her sixteen SWH colleagues and found "Miss Dew R. quite nice! Surplus money is all she suffers from I think."

> Our contingent ought to turn out an interesting lot. The only one who is going where I am, Mladanovatz, is a Scotch Canadian [Mrs. Anderson] & has been to Serbia once already; one is from Australia, one has been in Argentine & Rhodesia; another is going the second time to Serbia [Miss Reid?], & one has never been out of Scotland before; one has been a long time in Hungary & talks Hungarian. One has a decidedly spicy tongue [Miss Innes]: she got taken by acting the importunate widow at the London office till they begged the Edinburgh people to send her off. She doesn't seem quite certain where she is going yet, as her luggage has a label at each end and addressed to a different place. They were sent, so she put both on.[15]

Kathleen Royds spent much of her time on board and ashore in Malta and Greece in the company of Miss Begg and Miss Reid.[16] With Reid, she spent several hours a week practising French and German (being already fluent in these) and learning Serbian. This time proved to be well-spent: her multi-lingualism came to be much in demand. Hired as an Orderly, she was quickly snapped up for clerical duties and became indispensable to her unit (Leneman 123)--a "treasure" was how one woman described her (246n42).[17] "I am told as a clerk I am a more important person than as orderly! I have to keep the accounts & write letters etc. - some probably in French," she wrote to her mother.[18]

The week-long trip aboard the Devanka passed pleasantly enough. Studying languages, reading, and socializing occupied her days. And as a welcome relief from so many sedentary activities, she enjoyed the occasional deck tennis tournament. She and her partner, Dr. Beavis,

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[15] "To Serbia," October 8, 1915. This Miss Innes, so far as I have been able to discern was no relation to the George Innes (apparently an only child) whom Kathleen Royds married. Innes is a common Scottish name.

[16] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, October 19, 1915. KER/1.

[17] Apparently, many women sent to the continent were unilingual, which reduced the efficiency of communication with foreign bureaucrats, military personnel, and patients. This problem became so acute that the Secretary of the Legation Royale de Serbie requested of the SWH:

> should you be sending any more Units to Serbia, [consider] only fully qualified Surgeons, Physicians, fully trained Nurses and qualified Hospital Orderlies (i.e. those who have had some experience in Hospital work and especially in combating contagious diseases) and who, besides English speak either French, Russian, Serbian, or German. (Letter from Georges V. Todorovitz to Miss I.A. Marris, May 17, 1915. SWH 304/3)

[18] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, October 9-14, 1915. KER/1.

placed second in one of these.[19] Evenings often passed in various forms of entertainment--usually concerts and skits. One evening she got a tour of the ship.

> [T]he Chief Engineer took 5 of us over the engine rooms. They are perfectly marvellous - enormous pistons pounding away turning huge wheels which finally turn the propeller. In the middle of the heat is an engine for making ice-cream & keeping the air 20° F. in the meat & fish rooms; also one for making salt water fresh; & heaps of little handles for doing big things! Punjabis stoke in white tunics & turbans, accompanying the process with a weird chant. We were also shown over the store-rooms, - Enough of meat, fish, vegetables & fruit were in cool places to last for a 6 months' voyage - rooms of various stores, tinned things, provisions of all kinds - even sweets & wines in other large rooms & each 'specialist' very proud to show off his 'store'! The engineer took us to his cabin & showed us his treasures - pictures from Japan, plants in things hanging on the wall, from China etc. He was rather a dear - from Aberdeen of course! ("To Serbia," October 14, 1915)

The next evening she attended "a concert, in which we Skittish Widows performed on the 'Devanka' to the tune of 'Clementine'. At the end the ship's Drs gave a very clever topical play - one, 'Rosie' makg [sic] a lovely nurse who 'didn't care' for she'd 'been star-gazing with the Padre!'" ("To Serbia," October 14, 1915).

Royds's trip through the Mediterranean came as an entirely new experience, and she filled her diary and letters home with exclamations of delight over the "tantalizing" picturesque lands they passed.[20] The coasts of Portugal and Spain caught her attention as did the Rock of Gibraltar. Upon her first glimpse of Africa she wrote: "less bold now, dim in the morning mist, & behind the grey outline - an unknown world. This is heavenly! But there is nothing to say about it" ("To Serbia," October 13, 1915). Algiers prompted an invocation of Wordsworth: "Oh! last night in the dark we passed Algiers, under a new moon! A dream of beauty - an 'unsubstantial faery thing' - indescribable" ("To Serbia," October 14, 1915).

Landing in Valetta provided some consolation for the inquisitive, excited travellers. She and her two companions, Reid and Begg, left the ship as soon as they were allowed "& had a lovely prowl round in narrow streets (some up steps), with overhanging balconies, & overlooking shops.... We had a lovely ice on the Square with a band in the distance, & found 2 nurses, who are in a camp Hospital, who took us to a Restaurant where we had supper, & came back over the light-dotted water at 8.30." They filled the next day with further tours of the city and

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[19] He was not part of the SWH party but someone she had met on the ship. See "To Serbia," October 14, 1915. KER/5/3.

[20] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, October 9-14, 1915. KER/1.

St. John's Cathedral, which Royds admired as much for its architecture as for the paintings and sculptures it housed.[21]

After Valetta came Athens with its history and ancient architecture.

> We went up a narrow street of shops with all sorts of quaint clothing for sale - costumes & shoes with woolly-ball bobs over the toes; to the Temple of the Winds at the foot of the Acropolis Hill - & then up it - past Areopagus, with the sea below, & the mountains round. Oh! - to describe is futile.- The marvel of the fluted pillars; the ornaments on scattered fragments; the age of three foundations - the Museum & Minerva's owl. I feel there is only one thing to say "I have seen the Parthenon." ("To Serbia," October 20, 1915)

Her day and a half were dreamily filled with teas and dinners in local cafés and tours of "all the ancient places of interest ... I think! -- the Acropolis & Parthenon, Temples of Jupiter & Theseus, the latter very perfect,- the Ancient Cemetery with tombs sculptured, from 4 or 500 B.C., the Museum, & a climb up Lycabette - a high hill with a most glorious view of the town, & sea & mountains round."[22]

From Athens, she travelled on to Salonika, where the last leg of her journey into northern Serbia would begin. The situation in Serbia, however, was even more critical than it had been in the winter of 1914/1915. The Austro-Hungarians had retaken the north and all relief personnel were being evacuated, along with Serbians themselves. Relief workers on their way north were ordered to remain in Salonika until they received new assignments. "The first news," Kathleen Royds reported, "was - 'You must go back.'" But "With the usual contrariness of human nature these 'Refills' at once said, 'Well, then, we'll stay, and wait and see,' which they did until the beginning of December. They housed themselves in an old Turkish harem on a hill near Salonika and waited.'"[23]

The prospect of living in an old Pasha's harem enchanted Royds, whose only knowledge of eastern cultures came through reading such books as the Arabian Nights, which had been awarded to her in a literary competition, and from her brother George who was then serving in the

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[21] "To Serbia," October 16, 1915. References to paintings, sculptures, and architecture pepper her books and articles. Though she never wrote specifically on art, her appreciation of it is readily apparent. See, for example, her reference to Botticelli in Life in a Hampshire Village, to Holman Hunt and Blake in The Bible as Literature, and to Anna Lea Merritt in Bourne Valley Anthology.

[22] "To Serbia," October 20, 1915. See also Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, October 22, 1915. KER/1.

[23] Report of Dr. Mary Blair quoted in E. McLaren 230. See also Leneman 39; "To Serbia," October 23, 1915.

British Army's Mesopotamia Campaign.[24] She described the setting for her family:

> It is a large Turkish house high up the hill-side, entered first by a big door into the entrance yard, past the walled-in garden - a green shady place, partly flagged with olives & figs & two very large pitchers with old stone troughs, formerly I suppose used for washing. On the side of the street the house is of course all shuttered but not over the garden.[25]
>
> ...
>
> The garden is through a courtyard, past two big doors with walls all round; figs & olives grow in it & it is beautifully cool in the heat we are still getting. There is a well in the yard between the doors from which we draw water, though there is a tap for drinking water, which is all filtered. The kitchen we use is across a flagged piece of garden, - was formerly the place where slaves worked in. We have two little charcoal fires but no oven. Today there has been a big wash, & a cauldron was put on a wood fire between the two charcoal fires & kept going all day from the well. It made our kitchen rather smoky for the eyes![26]

The city itself also fired her imagination, and she described feeling as if she had "gone back centuries all of a sudden."[27]

> The town is most picturesque, on a beautiful natural harbour with hills all round in a semi-circle. The streets are most uneven cobbles with the open drains running down the middle, & they swarm with people of all sorts of nationalities, in varied costumes - also picturesque, but mostly having dirt in common. There are lots of Turks, owning shops, & a Turkish quarter, while mosques are everywhere. Their white minarets make the place look quite eastern.[28]

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[24] Her version, illustrated by W. & F. Brundage and J. Willis Grey (now in the possession of Bea and Frank Hilton Isherwood), included the stories of "Aladdin and his Wonderful Lamp," "Sinbad the Sailor," "The Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor," and "The History of Ali Baba and the Forty Robbers." According to Husain Haddawy, these were either forgeries (as in the case of Aladdin) or later additions made in an attempt to complete the thousand and one nights. Even today the most popular editions of The Arabian Nights include these stories which were "not among the eleven basic stories of the original work" (xvii).

Romanticized and sanitized works for children and adults were, and still are, common. For an illuminating, brief history of The Arabian Nights see Haddawy's introduction.

[25] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds (?), October 29, 1915. KER/1.

[26] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, October 27-28, 1915. KER/1.

[27] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds (?), October 29, 1915. KER/1.

[28] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, October 27-28, 1915. KER/1.

"This place is neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring, - neither east nor west, & true to its character it seems inclined to remain halting between two opinions," she wrote home.[29] Far from feeling oppressed, Royds revelled in her new surroundings--the architecture, sounds, smells, and people--so unlike those of rural or even urban England. Wanting to learn as much about the city as she could, she "got hold of a history of Salonika in French, & occasionally find time to read some of it. It is very interesting."[30]

For almost two months she and her co-workers waited for new instructions. In the meantime, they explored first the city then the surrounding area:

> After lunch Miss Reid & I walked about 4 miles beyond the tramway terminus to a glorious second bay in the Gulf. Besides numerous soldiers, the most picturesque peasants passed us en route - one group of three - a woman with a child on a donkey & a man walking beside might have been the Holy Family on their way to Egypt. ("To Serbia," November 4, 1915)

They attended the cinema and watched local celebrations; they walked or took mule-carts to the British soldiers' camps and toured hospital ships docked in the harbour. She singled out one particular tour in a letter to her parents:

> We have been to tea this week on the Hospital ship 'Karapara', which is in harbour. It is a fine ship, specially built as a hospital & fitted out with everything necessary that could be thought of. The wards can open above & the sides also open wider than the usual portholes so that it is all very airy. There are different wards for the different stages of illness, etc. all with their own pantries, washing up rooms, operating theatres, & so on. The Dr.[-]Major is Bram Stoker's brother.[31]

Royds found that in a hub of military operations such as Salonika "Pacifist information is not a great success" ("To Serbia," November 2, 1915). Not many people except the few Quakers she met shared her views. Far more common was the hostility toward pacifists expressed by May Sinclair in her Journal of Impressions in Belgium. One man, whom Sinclair mistakenly thought had been a Quaker, she described as

> not an ordinary, Dutch kettle and coal-scuttle, pacifist, arts-and-crafts copper, but a fine old, truculent, damn-disarmament, Krupp-&-Co., bloody, ammunition copper, and battered by the wars of all the world.... No man, and certainly no Quaker could possibly be happier than this Quaker is now. (155-6)

This man "warmed" Sinclair's heart because his pre-war pacifism was conquered by better judgment (157):

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[29] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds (?), October 29, 1915. KER/1.

[30] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, November 9, 1915. KER/1.

[31] Ibid.

> how excellent above all things, to be a man and to be young for ever, and to go out into the most gigantic war in history, sitting in an armoured car which is as a rabbit-hutch for safety, and to have been a pacifist, that is to say a sinner, like Mr. ----, so that on the top of it you feel the whole glamour and glory of conversion. (157)

"What a relief!" Royds exclaimed in her diary, after she discovered in Miss Webster, of recent acquaintance, "a kindred spirit as to war" ("To Serbia," November 2, 1915). It was a short-lived relief because Webster departed for a French field hospital a few days later ("To Serbia," November 5, 1915).

Initially, the excitement of being in a new city and the romance of living in a Pasha's harem kept her occupied.

> Nov: 13. Work & out to lunch & short walk. Back to dress. Out to tea at Rome with Lieu. Ensor & Dr Hoduct de Court MacSherry from 'H.M.S. Albion', for a short walk along the quay & back to Cinema. Reid & Roberts stayed out to dinner. Dr Finnigan to supper & we sat in Drs room after.
> Nov: 14. A lovely walk with Begg, Reid & Simpson over the hills to within sight of Nihori - & its costumed villagers. Lunch above its valley glorious views en route returning - especially of mist-filled harbour & hollows cloud-capped Olympus & battlemented Fort. Shopped in e. for picnic tomorrow. Read Marcus.
> Nov: 15. A glorious day. Breakfast at 8.a.m. & off with the Drs about 9.0. for a 14 mile walk to the sunny, vine-yard enclosed village of Nihori (?) up & up the peak beyond it to a lovely view of blue lakes & mountains on one side & sea on the other. Pan, satyrs, & nymphs were at home on the hills: it was Greece.
> Nov: 16. A quiet day & a Turkish bath with Miss Simpson. Read & wrote.
> Nov: 17. Took midshipmen of H.M.S. Albion for a picnic lunch on the hills & back to tea here after. We outwalked most. Very windy day!
> Nov: 18. Walk with Mr Browning, Mr Ensor, & Mr Whitworth; brought them back to tea, at which Mr Behrens joined us in a grand blue & gold Albanian costume.
> Nov: 19.

There her diary trails off for three days because "nothing has been happening except work & walks" ("To Serbia," November 22, 1915). Waiting began to wear thin. After these "ordinary" days, she visited a Dervish monastery ("very picturesque but rather melancholy - a dying remnant of Turkish domination - allowing itself to be looked at, neither pleased nor objecting openly to visits from aliens & heretics"), but that is the last event of any consequence she felt inclined to report.[32] Just as soldiers' war narratives record periods of numbing boredom in between short bursts of activity, so did relief workers away from the

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[32] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds (?), November 30-December 1, 1915. KER/1.

front experience long periods of boredom and inactivity. By the end of November--after a month and a half with no work--Royds recounted: "We have pretty well exhausted the town & its near environments, but we didn't come for that ... & all want to move on."[33]

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> From the night trains the refugees poured. They filled the cafes round, sitting or lying at full length on benches, tables, and floor--men, women, and children huddled together. They overflowed from the cafes out into the square, and they camped in the wintry rain and slush and waited for dawn.
> - "With the Serbians in Corsica"

Finally in December 1915 the Scottish Women's Hospitals got the work they wanted: refugees in need of medical attention began arriving from the north. With feelings of delight intermingled with those of sorrow for the misfortune of others, Kathleen Royds helped co-ordinate relief for the thousands of Serbian refugees who began to flood into Salonika.[34] Many who had arrived on foot needed medical attention. "Sore feet, high temperatures, [and] exhaustion" were all too common;[35] adequate sanitation--hard to establish and maintain with the expected thousands in cramped quarters--became a priority because the hasty retreat and lack of medical aid along the way hastened the spread of disease, especially typhus.[36]

The refugees desperately needed food, clothing, and shelter provided by the Serbian Relief Fund (SRF) as much as they needed medical attention. The SRF found themselves somewhat short-staffed for such a volume of refugees, so some SWH women temporarily lent their services. Kathleen Royds provided clerical assistance and co-ordinated the monumental task of ensuring that all Serbians had proper identification. "The last few days," she wrote her mother on December 19, "I have had the job of registering them all" and finding them tent accommodation. While not registering refugees, she was put to work "writing tickets for clothes" and typing reports.[37]

The SRF and SWH received permission to erect a tent-city on the grounds of the Russian Hospital, for which the Serbian Consul donated tents. This arrangement sufficed for a time, but a more "permanent" one

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[33] Ibid.

[34] BRCS 24/4/36. The refugees arriving in Salonika in early December 1915 were mostly from Macedonia and the south of Serbia. Those fleeing from the north arrived later in the month. See Kathleen Royds's article, "With the Serbians in Corsica."

[35] Kathleen Royds, "With the Serbians in Corsica" 42. Hereafter referred to in the text as "Serbians."

[36] One reason for the lack of medical attention along the way can be attributed to the spread of typhus itself, which had killed one half to one third of all Serbian doctors (Mitchell 154; Pavlovich 198).

[37] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, December 13, 1915; Kathleen Royds to William Royds, December 14, 1915. KER/1.

was necessary because "Salonica [sic] already promised to become not the safest of places" (Royds, "Serbians" 42). The situation became critical as time wore on. "Two nightly trains, which arrived at any time from 10 p.m. to 4 a.m., continued for three or four weeks to bring refugees into town, in numbers varying from 40 to 200 or 300 nightly" (41). After a few weeks, refugees numbered in the thousands, and "it was not likely that the [Salonikan] military authorities would be content to allow some thousands of refugees to stay within its walls" (42).

Dr. Blair and Dr. Anderson from the SWH accompanied Sir Edward Boyle, Honourary Treasurer of the SRF, and Dr. G. Douritch (also with the SRF) on a journey to view possible sites for relocating the refugees. During their trip, the relief workers' small patch of Salonika was transformed. Dr. Blair reported: "On our return ... we found everything in working order--a tea and bread stall to feed the refugees on arrival, a tent pitched to house them for the night, and arrangements made daily for motor transport to convey the refugees and their baggage the next day to an encampment put up for them on the land surrounding the Russian hospital" (qtd in E. McLaren 231).

Hope came for a more permanent settlement when France offered free transportation to Ajaccio, Corsica. The SWH and SRF workers now had only to convince the refugees to agree to the move. Kathleen Royds found that persuading refugees to travel far away from their native soil could be extremely difficult, but she understood their conflicting emotions:[38]

> Those in authority might accept the offer, but an initial difficulty had still to be overcome in gaining the consent of the people themselves. At first it almost seemed as if their doubts would cause endless delays in carrying out the plan. For many of them it must have appeared simply a leap in the dark. The majority had never left Serbia before the great flight; most had never seen the sea. To cross it was to take a step--so they felt--cutting themselves off decisively from home, from near prospect of return, from all familiar ways of living. Small wonder they were afraid! ... To have to decide in a few hours whether or not to undertake such a venture was a real problem. A vivid picture lingers of one lonely, but resolute, old lady going out of the receiving tent to sit on her luggage and think out for half an hour of strenuous mental debate the "to be or not to be" of this momentous question. ("Serbians" 42-43)

Many, like the woman Royds so vividly described, showed little of Hamlet's indecision, opting "in favour of the venture and thenceforth never waver[ing]" (43). A few agreed and then changed their minds. In the end, however, more than two thousand refugees endured the three- to five-day boat trip to their land of exile.[39]

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[38] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, December 19, 1915. KER/1.

[39] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, January 6, 1916. KER/2.

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It has been an experience I wouldn't have missed for anything.
- Kathleen Royds to Phoebe

From mid-December 1915 to mid-January 1916 Kathleen Royds spent her days engaged in the "difficult clerical work in connection with Passports" (SRF 24/4/36). Each person required a "passport with a photograph"--probably not the first thing fleeing refugees would think to take with them. So before the French Government would allow the move to Corsica, she and Mr. Kousmanovitch (himself a refugee and former Serbian First Secretary to the Minister of the Interior) had to arrange for the necessary documents.[40]

Departure days were hectic for everyone. Refugees collected their belongings for yet another move that would take them even farther from home; SWH doctors, nurses, and orderlies packed necessary equipment and medical stores; SRF workers took stock of food, clothing, and other supplies which might be needed on the island. The morning began with a roll call of "the names of those leaving ... luggage was brought to the entrance, and the packing onto the lorries begun early" ("Serbians" 43). This usually took several hours because the ships carried (on average) 600 refugees. Each departure day meant the transfer of all passengers safely from camp to dock, where they had to wait until officials checked their passports (43). Finally, the refugees boarded the vessel and were shown to their quarters. Since ships were not designed to carry comfortably so many passengers, the "majority had to face five days of 'roughing it' in poop hammocks provided for the soldiers. The cabins were given to women with small children, and blankets were provided for all" (43). By the time all passengers were settled in and accounted for, the day had drawn to a close.

Kathleen Royds went out on the last boat, La Provence, on January 15, 1916; she was glad to have stayed behind because "the second and third [boats] were most fearful crushes."[41] As luck would have it, though, all crossings went smoothly except hers. To begin with, the rough seas laid up the two nurses with sea-sickness, so that Royds, another orderly, and the ship's regular doctor "went round several times daily [&] saw to dressings, gave milk to babies, & generally listened to complaints" ("To Serbia," January 14-17, 1916). Worse than the weather, however, was an unwelcome encounter on the last day of the journey. In the "evening, just at sunset, the ship swung round, engines stopped, then she sailed west instead of north. The general opinion is - submarine!" ("To Serbia," January 14-17, 1916). With submarines patrolling the Mediterranean, it was strangely uncommon that none of the previous vessels carrying refugees had been chased or attacked. La Provence had the honour of being the marked exception. At the time, it carried "Turkish, Bulgarian & German prisoners, 400 Serbian soldiers, ... students going to French schools, our refugees [about 400], an R.N. Commander, & our party."[42] "At night we simply raced. It was submarines! Two sighted two miles off & 1 chasing us about midnight.

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[40] Kathleen Royds to her sister Bud, January 16, 1916. KER/2.

[41] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, January 6, 1916. KER/2.

[42] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, January 16, 1916. KER/2.

We got into Ajaccio in the morning on the 18th about 9.a.m." ("To Serbia," January 19-20, 1916). In March, less than two months later, this vessel was sunk in the Mediterranean with a loss of over 900 lives.[43]

The more serene hours gave the Serbians time to contemplate the new twist to their fate, and Royds witnessed more than one person pondering the course of events.

> The excitement of departure put a veneer over the actual tragedy of the facts; but their poignancy was suddenly brought home from time to time in the midst of distractions by the discovery of some lonely, silent figure leaning against the railings, gazing dumbly at the disappearing mainland which had held for him all that life hitherto had counted dear. ("Serbians" 43)

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> ... the friendly invasion from a foreign land.
> - "With the Serbians in Corsica"

On the evening of December 24, 1915, the first of four large boatloads lowered its anchor off the Corsican coastline. A ripple of excitement went through Ajaccio with the arrival of so many foreigners:

> All day cabs and carts drove to and fro, to and fro, through the streets between docks and hotels, packed with refugees and luggage--a seemingly endless stream. It must have been the strangest of Christmas days to the Ajaccio people, curious to the finger-tips over the friendly invasion from a foreign land. ("Serbians" 43-44)

At the end of January 1916, La Provence brought up the rear; everyone had arrived safely from Salonika.

Upon reaching the island, Kathleen Royds settled into her flat, shared with several other SWH workers.

> The beauty of this place is a perpetual joy. The town lies round a deep inlet, surrounded on all sides by hills with hollows filled by blue mists. Palms, acacias, orange trees, roses violets - abound. Our villa looks straight over the sea: in bed we hear the water lapping on the rocks: a road winds to the right, round a fascinating corner, & green shrubbed hills are behind. As counterpoise, the Prefet & the French officials are most difficult, & obstruct & are rude every time they can be! I have been busy scraping the walls of our Hospital which has some patients in the ward tonight (20th) & is to be finished by the workmen by Saturday. Today I have also been unpacking & checking stores. The Hospital has a similar lovely

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[43] The Times reported the sinking of this vessel in early March 1916. Originally, there was some confusion over which "Provence" was sunk--La Provence, a vessel of over 13000 tons, or the Provence, a steamship of just under 4000 tons. It was the larger ship, with 1800 passengers, that sank; only 870 were saved.

> position to the villa, to which it is close. ("To Serbia," January 19-20)[44]

After helping to scrape and whitewash the hospital, she began her normal duties as Secretary-Treasurer of the Unit handling "all the general arrangements of the care of patients leaving the hospital & for the special needs of out-patients."[45] Full hospital care could not be provided at the outset, so an out-patient clinic was "One of the most pressing needs," and a small hospital was temporarily established "in the Filles de Marie, the Prefecture house attached to a convent" ("Serbians" 44), for those who needed the most care. This "hospital" provided entirely inadequate facilities. One large room accommodated all in-patients--men on one side and women on the other--and all out-patients received their consultations in the centre of this same room. Typhus posed special problems for the staff since isolation was essential. But eventually a system was worked out so that "A case of typhoid [would] be screened off in one corner with every possible precaution for disinfection" (44).

Mrs. Culbard, the SWH Administrator, began looking for a more suitable building and found one, a villa, "right on the sea a little way out of town, large enough with tent accommodation and an isolation branch, opened later, to take about 90 beds" (44-45). The refugees regularly kept the hospitals filled almost to capacity in the first six months, and the number of out-patients soared. Royds reported that the two doctors and several nurses cared for 80 in-patients and 30 to 40 out-patients daily. And with a further 30 to 40 "seen in regular visits to outlying centres," the Chief Medical Officer, Dr. Mary Blair, wired the London Committee that she needed more staff (45; Leneman 53).

Kathleen Royds's first six months elapsed in March 1916, and she had not definitely decided on staying, "but the Administrators here apparently thought I had, & wrote & told the Edinburgh people I would," Royds wrote to her mother.[46] This might have been a communication gap, but the SWH were already severely short-staffed when hundreds more refugees--mostly "boys of about 10 to 16 years of age" ("Serbians" 45)--straggled into Ajaccio. Royds, deeply moved by the plight of these boys, agreed to sign on for another six months. She wrote of one boy:

> The marvel is that the laughter has not died out of his eyes. He is a refugee from Belgrade, thirteen years old, and he came without relations or friends, through Albania - a volunteer

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[44] By April, Royds and her colleagues had outgrown their flat, since more workers had arrived. They moved "into a large villa. It is better for the room, but we miss our lovely view over the sea. We are on a road now, which is a little noisy after the other, which stood quite alone on the side of a hill" (Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, April 5, 1916; KER/2).

[45] Reference letter for Kathleen Royds by Dr. Mary Blair, September 15, 1916. KER/5/1.

[46] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, April 5, 1916. KER/2.

> with the Serbian army, part of the flotsam thrown up on the shores of Corsica by the storm of war.[47]

The untitled and unpublished essay of April 1916 from which this excerpt comes stands as a tribute to the thirty thousand boys who first set out on the march from Serbia through Albania to Corfu and Corsica--especially to the mere hundreds who survived it. "By all rights of childhood," Royds wrote, "he should be watched over for years yet, in the home which is probably ruin in the war's path. But time will give him back the strength which ebbed-out on that long march, and he smiles, as half-proudly, half-shyly, he shows his soldier's badge and tells that he escaped with the army" (Untitled MS). The young boy, like the German sailor Royds met on the train from Berlin to Hamburg, stands not as a saintly military warrior, but as a victim of "men's reckless game of war" ("Serbians" 45). In spite of the almost paralysing sorrow Royds felt when she worked with the young boys, she remained hopeful. "Hope for the days of peace comes back again with the revelation of such powers of recovery, such victories. There is hope for Serbia, there is hope for a war-weary, blood-stained Europe, in the marvel of laughter which has not died out of his eyes"; victories came not only on the battlefield, but in the tenacity of the sick and displaced "flotsam" of war (Untitled MS).

Kathleen Royds had been working steadily since December 1915 and was ready for a vacation by late May. Since she received probably not more than a fortnight's vacation (which effectively excluded making a trip back to England) she decided to take it in Florence and environs with Miss Begg. So in late May, the two set off to explore the lovely, historic city that had once charmed Elizabeth Barrett Browning. They filled their days in art galleries and cafés and on walking tours, as they had in Valetta and Athens.[48] As the two women prepared for their return to Corsica, they learned that "an Austrian submarine had emerged and bombarded the town on Elba & no boats were allowed to leave Italian ports. That meant we couldn't get back when we were supposed to."[49] Royds was no stranger to making hasty alternative travel plans, nor was she one to pass up the chance to visit other cities. She and Begg travelled through Genoa and the French Riviera to Nice. She reported that she was "glad" to have seen the touristy Nice and Menton, but admitted, "[I] don't want to see [them] again - (it's a good thing there are some places like that!)."[50] She preferred the "two days of clambering" in the Maritime Alps, since they catered much more to her taste for adventure and exercise than did "fashionable & pretty" cities without ancient charm.[51]

Upon her return to Corsica, the relentless pace resumed. "I got back to a pile of accounts, which had been left for me, but from which I

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[47] Untitled MS. KER/5/4. Hereafter referred to in the text as "Untitled MS."

[48] Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Her Poetry 102-3.

[49] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds (?), June 12, 1916. KER/2.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

have now emerged triumphantly correct. As a matter of fact I find them more interesting than I ever expected to find anything to do with figures," she no doubt added for the benefit of her older sister with the Bank of England.[52] After she surfaced from the accounts, Royds took over the general business of running the hospital while Mrs. Culbard, the Administrator, took her vacation.

Everything ran relatively smoothly at the hospital until August 1916 when Dr. Blair resigned as Chief Medical Officer (CMO) to take up a posting in Malta. Dr. Mary Phillips, the new CMO, wanted more control over the unit's operations than Dr. Blair had assumed, and this did not sit well with Mrs. Culbard, who "greatly regretted Dr. Blair's departure" (Leneman 66). Dr. Phillips, seeing trouble ahead, requested of the SWH Committee in London that she be allowed to appoint her own Administrator. She chose Kathleen Royds (Leneman 66). Dr. Phillips's request was turned down, but the damage had been done. Tensions between Dr. Phillips and Mrs. Culbard grew daily until they culminated with Mrs. Culbard charging the doctors with medical misconduct. Two delegates from the London Committee arrived in March 1917 to investigate the claims, and they found not only that the staff were deeply divided staff but that "the affairs of the unit are at present the talk of Ajaccio" (Dr. Erskine qtd in Leneman 107).

Kathleen Royds tired of the in-fighting long before the two delegates from London were ever dispatched and decided not to extend her contract with the SWH when it ran out in October 1916. She wrote to her mother in September of her possible plans:

> [T]he Serbian Relief seem to be very anxious that, on getting to London I should decide to come back to them in a month. Sir Edward Boyle wrote to me formally the other day after talking about it at the [SRF] Executive Committee here. He says - "However you may be attracted by other work elsewhere, your knowledge of our special problems in Corsica is surely too valuable to be thrown away: & whatever may be lost, there will at least be some gain in associating yourself with colleagues who have already learnt to appreciate your work & to value your friendship." What they say about the use in Corsica of people who have seen things from the beginning is true, owing to difficult circumstances here in various directions, I know, & the Relief work is really very interesting. I have told him at last that I won't absolutely decide till I get to London, but he will give me a letter to Lady Grogan asking her to accept me & send me back here when it is delivered, & apart from a possible offer of some other work I heard a rumour of last week, I will accept for 6 months. It is difficult for lots of reasons to decide, but perhaps it <u>is</u> a waste to accumulate a lot of knowledge & information & then break all connection, & not go on using it - when it is useful & wanted.[53]

Kathleen Royds found the decision whether to return or not very difficult for a number of reasons. On the one hand, she hoped to escape the in-fighting; on the other hand, Royds enjoyed the work, and as Dr.

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[52] <u>Ibid</u>.

[53] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, September 25, 1916. KER/2.

Blair said diplomatically in a September 1916 reference letter for Royds, "Her departure will be a serious loss to the hospital, but I realise that as the work has diminished very much, we cannot expect to retain a woman of her energy & ability." That work had slowed was, in fact, not the only reason behind the departures of the unit's most capable staff. They left because they "cared much more about doing 'good work in war time, than about having a good time'" (qtd in Leneman 106) as Mrs. Culbard did, charged Dr. Jackson. Royds was hardly averse to "having a good time"--she often went swimming and on picnics with SWH and Serbian Relief Fund workers--but she never allowed these activities to take precedence over her work.

A final consideration as to whether Royds would come back must have been the presence of George Innes, SRF Administrator. Many romances developed among those thrown together during the war. Like SWH orderly Sybil Condi and Surgeon-Lieutenant James Matheson who met in Salonika and married in 1918, Kathleen Royds had first met George Innes in Salonika (Leneman 123). Unlike Condi and Matheson, Royds and Innes waited six years before deciding to marry.

George Innes, born in Dalkeith, Midlothian, Scotland, was raised in Manchester and Stockport where his father managed local iron foundries. He took an Engineering course at Manchester Technical School (1899-1901) and worked for twelve years as the Secretary of his father's business, after which he decided to return to school; Birmingham University awarded him its Social Services Diploma with honours in 1914. By this time, George Innes had joined the Society of Friends, and after the war began, he volunteered his service to the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee. They sent him to France in early 1915 as General Secretary of relief and reconstruction. Later that year, he was sent to Salonika where he met Kathleen Royds.[54]

The two looked about as mismatched for each other as it was possible to be: Royds was tall and sturdy-looking, while Innes was shorter and slim. Yet by early 1916, they had started finding solace in one another's company, since both were ardent pacifists. George Innes, due for a vacation in October 1916, decided to take it in England. So one year after they first met Kathleen Royds and George Innes made the trip back to England together on October 12.[55]

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> I have now at some time or another taken the place or done some of the work of almost every member of the Mission!
>
> - Letter to Sarah Royds

George Innes returned to Corsica on November 24, 1916, knowing that Kathleen Royds had been convinced to join the SRF, for in early December his weekly report stated that "it is urgent to have Miss Royds sent out as soon as possible."[56] Immediately upon her return, George Innes assigned her to Ucciani, site of a small refugee colony, to fill in for

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[54] "Experience and Qualifications" of George Innes. KER/6.

[55] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, October 2, 1916. KER/3 [misfiled with 1917 letters].

[56] SRF Administrator's report, December 2, 1916. SRF 6/6.

six weeks while another SRF worker went on vacation.[57] "[T]he work should be very interesting," she wrote to her mother. "There are about 200 Serbs housed in various cottages, who want visiting to see things are going all right, the cottages in good order etc. Clothes, blankets, wood & bread have to be allotted, & a work-room of about 30 women, & a reading-room supervised. Also, I understand I shall have to get up something for Xmas (theirs is our Twelfth Night)."[58] Royds returned to Ajaccio at the end of January 1917, having made only the occasional brief visit to the SRF administrative headquarters.[59]

She returned to Ucciani in April for another few weeks and had the opportunity to observe Serbian Easter festivities as well."In Ucciani," she reports, "the church is an adaptation of the rifle-range, lent by the very helpful village Maire" ("Serbians" 47). With the flair for detail that marks her later writing on Hampshire, Royds described the colony, church, and ceremony:

> It is on the slope of a hill, surrounded by chestnut trees; a mountain stream falls just below; the valley opens out to village, olive-orchards and vineyards, and to snowcapped hills beyond. Inside the wooden building are the simplest pieces of necessary furniture--a reading desk, a stand for holy candles, and the ikon of St. Nickolas. The holiest part is curtained off and beyond the curtain the priest officiates and no woman may pass. It is a strange experience to be present at a service on a Serbian "prasnik" (holiday). While the weird Greek chants pass in antiphonal monotony from priest to choir--a singing anew of the Lord's song in a strange land--an onlooker is possessed of a sense almost of unreality in the contemplation of this little piece of Serbia taken out of its setting, put down in a far-distant country, continuing amid a people that is a stranger to its forms and ceremonies, the intensely national worship of its ancestors. (47-48)

The SRF provided two types of living arrangements for the Serbians: colonies and hostels in which families lived communally, sharing kitchens and dining halls.[60] Royds loved visiting the colonies which took on "quite a Serbian atmosphere":

> In the village street Serbian weavers may often be seen at work setting up their looms; the children go to the school, where

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[57] George Innes's weekly SRF report, December 9, 1916 (SRF 6/7); Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, December 17, 1916 (KER/2).

[58] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, December 17, 1916. KER/2.

[59] Letters to her mother January 26 and 30, 1917. KER/3. She stayed in Ajaccio for the night of January 1 in order "to have dinner tonight with the Scottish Women & Dr. Blair, who is over here just this week on a short leave" (Kathleen Royds to her mother, January 1, 1917; KER/3).

[60] Each family "look[ed] after their own rooms and two of the women each week help[ed] in the kitchen, while an English worker supervise[d] generally" ("Serbians" 46).

> they have their own master for lessons in Serbian in the mornings, and French in the afternoons. Besides this a Kindergarten has been started for the babies in each village, and Serbian girls who have been given a short training are in charge under the S.R.F. helper. The Serbian children are particularly charming; they have the most natural and taking manners and are delightfully spontaneous; it is a real pleasure to go into the Kindergartens and hear them sing and recite, or see them at their games. Other features in the villages are reading-rooms open for general use and seldom empty, and churches with Serbian priests. (47)

Royds's new job with the SRF suited her tastes exactly, and she took it up with the enthusiasm that had begun to ebb prior to her departure from the Scottish Women's Hospitals. She had not been personally involved in the aspersion-casting of the "Culbardites" and supporters of the doctors and somehow remained on friendly terms with both parties, but the tense atmosphere had taken much of the pleasure from her job.[61] Now, she was to a certain extent free from the SWH's troubles and able to spend more time in the various Serbian colonies in Ucciani, Bocognano, and Piana.

The SWH did not let her go so easily, however. Mrs. Culbard resigned in April 1917, after a severe illness that left her "delirious" and calling for Royds "to get her ice from the mountains."[62] The London Committee offered Royds the post of Administrator. Royds, however, was happy with the Serbian Relief Fund, and had no desire to leave off work for them. With her contracted six-months almost at an end, though, she decided to negotiate for each to have her half-time. "If both Administrations agree to this I may try it in the same way as running an S.R.F. Hostel for two months as a test, & see if both are satisfied at the end. If not, I shan't accept!"[63] The SRF gave her mornings off to work for the SWH.[64] This arrangement continued to everyone's satisfaction until Royds left Corsica for the last time in December of that year, 1917.

The SRF, which oversaw the humanitarian side of the relief operations in Corsica, helped Serbians establish workrooms that gradually became "a most important feature of refugee life" ("Serbians" 48). For it was in these workrooms that Serbians could come together to preserve their traditional arts and crafts, learn new skills, and tell the stories of their ancestors. Workrooms for weavers had been in operation the longest and interested Royds the most:

> Over the various processes--combing, washing, spinning, and dyeing--the national songs are sung, and are handed on from

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[61] She made a point of visiting with Dr. Blair when she went to Corsica for a holiday. Mrs. Culbard, who got sick in March 1917 and became delirious, asked for Royds, who had then left the hospital to work with the SRF.

[62] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, December 27, 1916. KER/2.

[63] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, April 16, 1917. KER/3.

[64] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, May 7, 1917. KER/3.

> generation to generation. The garments are picturesque to the highest degree. Characteristic are the gaily-striped stuff aprons worn by the women, and the long woven girdles carried by the men, wound several times tightly round the body. It will be a thousand pities if contact with Western Europe kills this home industry or largely modifies the national costume, and an incidental use of the workrooms is to keep alive the women's interest in their national products and to maintain their skill. In each centre a Serb acts as overseer and all the workrooms are organised under the general supervision of an S.R.F. superintendent. Altogether about 250 women are in constant employment and piecework is given as a minor form of relief occasionally, according to need. (49)

She also developed a taste for Serbian embroidery, a sample of which she gave as a gift to some friends more than twenty-five years later.

Characteristically, Royds mentions the women's work before, and in more detail than, the men's even though she worked far more with the men. She visited many families over the course of her work for the SRF and built up a general picture of domestic life. "The men," she found, "work when they are obliged. A peasant prayer asks for the blessings of 'light work and gaiety.' Initiative is undeniably rare; the women are drudges, aging noticeably early. In the attitude of the man to the woman as a sex the influence of the east is again traceable. Indoors the man is waited on hand and foot by the women. It is demeaning to do 'women's work' in the house. Family affection, however, is a very real thing, & the children are fondly cared for" ("The Serb as Refugee," Unpub MS).

If men did as little work as possible in the home, outside the home they were willing to work on a wide variety of projects. In the spring of 1917, George Innes recorded in his weekly SRF report that "Work amongst réformé soldiers [in Ajaccio] is being developed by Miss Royds" (SRF 6/31). As she reported to her father: "The soldiers ... are quite keen. They are mostly making baskets by plaiting raffia on wire; one is netting a bag, & one can make hats, when I have time to find out about where to get straws."[65] Many were already working on other projects: carpenters provided necessary furniture to the villagers and crafted the "picturesque peasant shoe, the 'opanka'" ("Serbians" 49); cobblers, too, were "a great help to the worker in the colony, for boots are an eternal problem, and [they know] infallibly what has been received by every individual, and [take] the greatest interest in the possibility of repairs for many which look, indeed, past hope!" (48). Even a garden was started:

> A market garden also has been able for some months of the year to keep the Hostels supplied with vegetables. An interesting experiment is being made on co-operative lines, with a little supervision by an English worker. The S.R.F. guarantees the labourers a certain wage, and profits beyond that are to be shared amongst them. The ground is all lent by Corsicans, and more has recently been offered to give in allotments to any

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[65] Kathleen Royds to William Royds, April 10, 1917. KER/3.

> Serbs who care to take advantage of it. Some men and women are already at work, buying their own seeds, and no doubt more will follow. (49)

By 1917, the Serbian colonies were thriving. The SRF had achieved its goal of aiding without interfering too dramatically with the daily lives of the refugees. Serbian customs were respected and traditions encouraged. The relief workers, who saw themselves in the position of helping preserve a threatened culture, took pride in their work. Many like Royds carefully considered the moral and ethical implications of the relief efforts:

> The great aim and chief difficulty, is to give enough without giving too much, to be reasonable without demoralising. The standard of living for most of these people in Serbia would not be high, but in determining the relief certain other factors have to be taken into account. In the first place in their own country they are most of them small-holders, dependent on their holdings for the elementary necessities, but now entirely cut off from such means of sustenance. And there is a second important consideration. Many suffered severely in their flight, particularly those who trekked through Albania, and the workers who can compare the condition, particularly of the young people when they arrived in Corsica, with their condition to-day, can have no doubts as to the great and lasting good from the point of view of physique, which must result for Serbia from the work on the island. (48)

Probably the most fascinating feature of Royds's Contemporary Review article from which this excerpt comes is the degree of respect shown for Serbians and their culture. Far from treating them as a faceless group, she preferred to acquaint herself with as many individual Serbians as possible and to that end she applied herself to learning their language. In Corsica, her internationalist ideals matured in light of these new experiences. When one knows individuals from other cultures, one is less likely to see those cultures as a monolithic, homogeneous group.[66] As she explained with particular reference to the relief work: "perhaps the most important feature of the whole work is getting to know the individual cases. The personal intimacy, which in most instances has already been acquired, is invaluable for securing judgment fair in the spirit as well as in the letter, and for enabling the helper to give advice which is of real assistance" (50).

The relative non-interference in Serbian affairs and a desire for "knowledge of all special circumstances" (draft MS, "Corsica III" 6) led to the success of the Corsican relief operations. The Serbian Government officially recognized the SWH's and SRF's efforts by bestowing the Order of St. Sava on many of the longest-serving relief workers, including George Innes and Kathleen Royds. Dr. Elsie Inglis, founder of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, became the first foreign woman to receive the Order of the White Eagle, the highest Serbian honour (Leneman 56; E. McLaren 243). Kathleen Royds was also granted

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[66] This is the lesson that Mr. Britling learns in H.G. Wells's Mr. Britling Sees it Through.

the Order of the Cross of Mercy for her work as Orderly and Secretary on active service (BRCS 24.3/21).

On November 19, 1917, after more than two years in the field, Royds returned to England undecided as to whether she would renew her relief work contracts. She promised to inform George Innes within a fortnight of her decision (SRF 6/60 and 6/61). In early December, she must have communicated with him unofficially that her job prospects in England looked favourable though nothing definite had been finalized. Probably on the strength of her communique, George Innes forwarded his own resignation to Sir Edward Boyle. In late December, Royds wired officially to say that she would not be returning, and by January 19, 1918, George Innes was on his way home.

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Shadows of parting haunt

- "Regret"

Upon her return to England, Kathleen Royds took a job in Birmingham. George Innes was offered a job in London, so they saw one another only occasionally over the next five months. Royds and Innes had been friends for over two years, and their time apart was difficult for Royds. How long they had been romantically involved is difficult to say; however, in the summer of 1917, they had been on what they described to friends as an "idyllic holiday" in Corsica. "Like Robert Louis Stevenson before them they hired a donkey, loaded it with tents and cookery pots and pushed off into the countryside."[67] In describing this journey to her parents, on the other hand, she makes no mention of George Innes at all:[68]

> We had a lovely climb up our mountain. Inland, everything is still fresh & green - a treat after the brown grass etc. here. Dr. Forsyth Major got a guide who brought two mules. He didn't know the way (all the real guides being at the war) - but the mules did. The Dr. rode one & the rest of us had a turn each on the other; you sit on a coil of goat's hair rope on a wooden pack-saddle. It is most comfortable! The mules are simply wonderful. I went up a very steep bit of path, covered with loose stones & rock, but the mule never hesitated or stumbled_ On the way there are little 'fontaines' - often only just a trickle of water but never dry - where we stopped to eat & drink. We got lots of snow & most beautiful scenery, with Sardinia just visible from one point. Dr. Forsyth Major found all the flowers he expected except one.
>
> Among those found was a yellow violet, & a small daisy peculiar to Corsica. On the top of the hills is a shrub as sweet as sweet-briar. He says it is <u>uluus waveoleus</u> (?) - a sort of elder. I thought <u>uluus</u> was "elm", but I suppose he is

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[67] Bea and Frank Hilton Isherwood to the author, July 29, 1992.

[68] Royds does mention in one letter to her mother that in addition to Dr. Forsyth Major, "the S.R.F. accountant & one of the orderlies" were also going (Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, June 26, 1917; KER/3).

> right! It is really a lovely island_ Our guide lost us on the way & got home first, but he came back & found us again![69]

Both Royds and Innes had pleasant rather than painful memories of this trip and thought back with fondness to their time spent in Corsica, so their relationship probably dated from this point at the latest. Upon their return to England, painful silences that may have accompanied their months apart in late 1917 and early 1918 likely dampened her spirits. Perhaps even doubt about their relationship flashed through her mind. The following undated poem by Royds captured her mixed emotions and, as one of her friends suggested, might date from this period:[70]

Regret

It is not that I doubt my love for you
That is strong enough to wait
Whether you come, while the moon is full
Or delay till the night be late

It is not distrust or loneliness
That chills my heart with fears
But the long cold silence afterwards
And here -- warm wasted years

Shadows of parting haunt
Love that grows warm
Oh life so bitter sweet
Is that your charm

Kathleen Royds moved back to London in May 1918 to take a full-time job. She and George Innes saw one another often after that, especially after they teamed up once again in aid of Serbians. Brigadier-General Fortesque, Government-appointed "co-ordinator of the British Relief under the name of the Serbian Joint Supply Commission" (Fry 129), sent George Innes on a "special visit of enquiry to Serbia" in order to assess what type of relief was most urgent. Innes was scheduled to leave in November, and Kathleen Royds had probably planned to accompany him, since she requested the month of November for her vacation (WIL/BLPES 1/1). Her plans changed abruptly in July when her father fell ill, so she requested the month of August instead in order to be home with her parents. William Royds died on December 24, 1918 at the age of seventy-five.

In 1919, after George Innes's return from Serbia, he and Brigadier-General Fortesque founded the Serb-Croat-Slovene (SCS) Child Welfare Association, which brought together "all the chief organisations (Serb,

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[69] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, July 3, 1917. KER/3.

[70] The only four of her poems that have survived were copied by Bea Isherwood from the originals. All are undated, though Bea Isherwood suggested that the tone of "Regret" seems to fit the mood she would have expected from Kathleen Royds and George Innes's parting at the very end of the First World War (Bea and Frank Hilton Isherwood to the author, July 29, 1992). The other three poems appear in Chapter 6.

American, British) working in Serbia for Child Welfare, and the representatives of the Child Welfare Department of the Serbian Government"; it functioned as a clearing house for information about child welfare, as an investigating body to determine the need for assistance and to find societies that could do the work, and as a provider of "money grants and personal service" (FO 369/1688) for already approved projects.

Kathleen Royds, the new association's Honourary Secretary in England, secured permission from her full-time employers to establish the SCS Child Welfare Association's office in their literature room at 14 Bedford Square.[71] Once she had the new office organized, she got to use her expertise in dealing with government offices to arrange passports and visas for SCS Child Welfare workers being sent to Serbia.[72]

She had never been fond of travel documents, which she saw as evidence of "mutual distrust among men,"[73] and became increasingly less tolerant of government bureaucracy as time went on. In 1916 she had joked in exasperation to her mother that if the distrust "goes on increasing at its present rate, we shall soon need passports before we are allowed to be born & laissez-passes for an exit." One year later, she complained that "Every stranger in the island now has to have a carte d'identité with three photographs, full face, without hats. I think the amount of papers now-a-days is a form of hysteria. I shall have a passport, a permis-de-sejour, several laissez-passers, a British Army Certificate of Identity (Red X) & a Carte d'identité after this!"[74] By 1920, her frustration had escalated proportionately to the increase in red-tape. The Child Welfare workers she sent to Serbia travelled by train from Boulogne to Belgrade and required visas from France, Switzerland, Italy, and Serbia in addition to their British Passports: "All this trouble and expense is necessary merely to pass in a train through the country."[75]

The First World War had been momentous for Kathleen Royds. In her travels she met teachers, university professors, renowned scholars such as Dr. Rendel Harris ("a very great authority on old Eastern manuscripts"),[76] government officials from several countries, military personnel, and, of course, the refugees from all walks of life--some of whom she corresponded with after the war ended. In hindsight, what affected her most of all was not this mixed group of adults whom she undoubtedly would not have met except for the war, but the Serbian children, especially those who survived the great trek across the

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[71] Women's International League Executive Committee Minutes, May 20, 1920. WIL/BLPES 1/3.

[72] Kathleen Royds, enclosure in letter to Emily Balch, September 1920. WILPFm II:53.

[73] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, June 12, 1916. KER/2.

[74] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, June 5, 1917. KER/3.

[75] Kathleen Royds, enclosure in letter to Emily Balch, September 1920. WILPFm II:53.

[76] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, April 16, 1917. KER/3.

Albanian mountains. She was not the only one to be profoundly affected by the children. Several of her co-workers continued their aid to Serbians after the war. Dr. Mary Phillips established a program to train young Serbian girls as nurses (Leneman 209), and Dr. Katherine Macphail established a children's hospital in Belgrade in 1920 and remained there until 1941 when she was taken prisoner by the Germans during the Second World War (211).

Royds had no children of her own yet spent an enormous amount of time over the course of her life teaching, writing for, and lobbying on behalf of children.[77] From the 1920s through 30s, she guest lectured in schools and wrote books explaining for children various aspects of the League of Nations; in the 1940s, she worked in her Hampshire village with children evacuated to the countryside during the Second World War; she gave money to charitable institutions such as Dr. Barnardo's homes for orphans, was an Honourary Secretary of her local branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and a Governor of the St. Mary Bourne school. Kathleen Royds may not have "understood children's minds"--as some who as children knew her have said--but her concern for children's welfare might be said to have motivated her peace and human rights activism.[78] She wanted all children to have what the young Serbian boy in Corsica lacked--family, friends, and a home--in other words, a childhood.

War radicalized her politics to such an extent that by 1918 Kathleen Royds no longer considered herself primarily a literary critic and teacher. Literature became a "Hobby," and she discovered a vocation, not anticipated before the war, in the fields of international relations and peace education. She was, as she put it, "Driven by war into Politics!" (qtd in Pickard 575).

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[77] In conversation, friends of the Inneses have suggested to me that Kathleen and her husband probably made a decision not to have children, and this certainly fits in with my picture of Kathleen (B. Young and C. Younger, Interview; B. and F.H. Isherwood, Interview; Royds, Interview). Indeed, one friend hinted that maybe they had never considered the possibility. But such intimate details are probably known only to the two people involved--in this case the Inneses themselves.

[78] Dawes, Interview; Hay, D. and S. and C. Younger, Interview.

Chapter 3
No Peace without Equality, 1917-1934[1]

> The War has put such a gulf between us and the 'Victorian' era that it makes possible for us to look with detachment, even at a period in which many of us grew up.
>
> - "Party is not Enough"

The First World War precipitated an entirely new way of conceiving the past, especially of Victorian and Edwardian England. "Men and women after the war looked back on their own pasts as one might look across a great chasm to a remote, peaceable place on the other side" (Hynes, A War Imagined xi). Kathleen Royds, however, did not view life before the war as entirely "peaceable," nor did she view it as radically discontinuous with "life after the war." Militarism had pervaded society and culture, and "men's passions in the different countries had been worked up to such anger with one another that they were ready for war."[2]

Neither did the war not touch Royds in as profoundly a personal manner as it did some--future colleague Vera Brittain, for example; she lost no immediate family members and in letters made no explicit reference to friends killed or wounded in battle.[3] Her oldest brother, Massy, spent the war on a Foreign Office special assignment in Norfolk, Virginia (one about which the Foreign Office forbid him to write);[4] George Freeman served in Mesopotamia, complained about heat and dust, but apparently suffered no serious injuries. And since Royds worked in a refugee centre away from the fighting, she did not experience the horrors daily faced by doctors, nurses, orderlies, and ambulance drivers in the field hospitals--the continuous stream of wounded men to be cared for till sent home or "healed" and reassigned to the front. So, she took away from the war memories of its effect on civilian populations: the separation of families and displacement of entire villages. This

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[1] Portions of this chapter appeared (in an earlier version) in "Politics 'through different eyes': Three Guineas and Writings by Members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom" read to the Fifth Annual Virginia Woolf Conference in Westerville, Ohio on June 18, 1995.

[2] The Story of the League of Nations 36-7. Hereafter cited in the text as "Story."

[3] If she lost any family to the war, they would have been among her mother's relations. Only her brother George actually saw fighting. He was in the Mesopotamia Campaign which the British launched against the Ottoman Turks in order to secure Mesopotamian oilfields and the route to India. George Royds joined a contingent sent up the Tigris River to secure Tikrit (now in Iraq) and advance on Mosul (See letters from George Royds to his mother and father, KER/3).

[4] FO 370/184. These documents from 1923 have not survived; the only record of the file's contents is the brief description in the Foreign Office correspondence index.

experience, which served only to strengthen her pacifist and internationalist ideals, motivated her to ensure that such ideals were not lost in the post-war world.

What put such a gulf between the Victorian and Edwardian periods and post-war Britain was the multiplicity of experiences of war. Society fragmented into men who fought and women who encouraged their enlistment, into "Old Men" who didn't fight and young men who did, into pacifists and war enthusiasts, into enlisted men and their officers, into working classes and upper classes. These divisions caused many to look back on the Victorian period through rose-coloured glasses, a tendency which Royds pinpointed as the main problem to be overcome by the post-war generation. Britain badly needed historians and educators to challenge the characterization of the late Victorian and the Edwardian eras as one long garden party.

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> There is only one final solution to the problems put before us: an educated people numerous enough to insist that professed principles of justice shall everywhere be put into execution.
> - "Oppressed Minorities"

As a schoolteacher, Royds had impressed upon her students that democratic ideals must lead to the extension of equal rights and privileges to women and minorities. She hoped the younger generation would make a better go of running national affairs than those directing foreign policy at the time. But after the war, Britain could not wait for a younger, possibly more "enlightened," generation to grow up; it needed a healthy supply of voting-age democratic and fair-minded individuals to form the basis of public opinion. Years of fighting had opened many wounds which, unless properly attended, would begin to fester. So rather than return to the schoolroom, Kathleen Royds joined the Union of Democratic Control (UDC) as a part-time Organizer, making approximately three guineas per week (Schwartz 51). It was one of the many organizations--including the No Conscription Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Women's International League--which solicited public support for an end to hostilities. Founded by Charles Trevelyan, E.D. Morel, J. Ramsey MacDonald, Norman Angell, and Arthur Ponsonby almost immediately upon British declaration of war, the UDC urged the abandonment of secret diplomacy in international politics, the establishment of "an international understanding depending on popular parties rather than on governments" (qtd in Schwartz 25) and the preparation of peace terms that would not humiliate the defeated nations (Schwartz 25).

Royds joined the UDC at a time when the government and media had whipped up public frenzy into such a state that pacifists were almost unilaterally viewed as collaborators of "evil" Germans. The propaganda machine was in full swing,[5] and a majority of British citizens inhaled

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[5] The Department of Information had 4 branches devoted to the dissemination of propaganda (see Stevenson 75-77). See also Hynes and Buitenhuis for more detailed discussions of writers who threw their weight into war propaganda.

John Buchan's Mr. Standfast exploits this ostensible connection between British pacifists and the German Government: Richard Hannay, a

anti-German and anti-pacifist sentiment along with the air they breathed. "Pacifist and anti-war meetings were frequently broken up with violence" (Stevenson 57), and the Defense of the Realm Act (DORA as it was known) empowered the British Government to fine or imprison those whom it suspected of being German sympathizers or, worse still, of secretly aiding the enemy. Most Germans in England by 1916 were interned or censured (59).

The oversuspicious Government was perhaps correct that some citizens sympathized with Germany--just not in the sense it preferred to believe. Characterizing citizens like Royds as evil spies scheming to unravel the very fabric of British society was to attribute sinister motives where none existed. Her "Teutonic sympathies" did not lead her, as the morbidly suspicious might have supposed, to desire a "Boche victory." They did leave her wide open to the accusation.

Royds returned to Britain in the autumn of 1917 to find an increasingly repressive government and biassed press. "Arrest of Mr. Morel" ran one Times article on September 1, followed by another lengthy article on September 3 outlining his crime and trial. He was convicted and sentenced to six months in prison for "unlawfully solicit[ing] and incit[ing] and endeavour[ing] to persuade Ethel Sidgwick to commit an act prohibited by the Defence of the Realm Regulations (Consolidated)."[6] Also that autumn, the Government sanctioned raids on the offices of the UDC and Women's International League (WIL)[7] and commissioned a study of "Pacifist and Revolutionary Organizations in the United Kingdom." The report turned up no evidence to support the charges that Germany footed the bills of leading pacifist organizations or that it clandestinely provided funds to leading opponents of the war; the report did, however, express worries about the influence of anti-war societies, and listed in decreasing order of influence the following as leaders of anti-war public opinion: the UDC, the Independent Labour Party, the British Socialist Party, the No-Conscription Fellowship, the Herald League, the WIL, the Women's Peace Crusade, and the Peace Negotiations Committee (Schwartz 186).

The Press fed anti-German attitudes with highly suggestive headlines, as in the case of "'U.D.C.' and German Money."[8] Unless one reads the article, one might assume that the UDC was receiving German money and the respectable Times had managed to find evidence. The story actually recounted the UDC treasurer's assurances that he "had no money from German sources. Further, their books were open to the inspection of any responsible person whom the Government might appoint." Words, as

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successful Brigadier-General, is commissioned to infiltrate pacifist circles to expose an allegedly devious and dangerous man with ties to Germany.

[6] Times September 1, 1917. Ethel Sidgwick was the niece of philosopher, Henry Sidgwick. A few years after this incident, Ethel Sidgwick and Innes worked together on a translation of A History of the French People by Guy de La Batut, which was published as part of a series called The Histories of the Peoples edited by Kathleen Innes and historian George Peabody Gooch.

[7] Times December 19, 1917; Swanwick, Builders of Peace, 91.

[8] Times October 16, 1917.

Royds said, did not have to be a "tissue of lies" in order to convey "an entirely false impression while keeping on the whole to the letter of the truth" ("Russian Disclosures" 2).

Open persecution of pacifists did not dampen Royds's enthusiasm for promoting a peaceful and safe society, nor could the charge that opposition to war entailed a lack of patriotism, a concept which she found problematic to begin with. In her opinion, governments' expectations of citizens to lay down their lives because of "blundering diplomacy" was entirely unconscionable (Women and War 3). Royds, not one prone to feeling guilty for holding unpopular points of view, industriously arranged lectures and organized informational meetings with the hope of educating the sceptical and often hostile public in various aspects of the UDC program.

She was with the Union of Democratic Control for only a few months when the Women's International League (WIL) hired her as their full-time Office Secretary in London. She quickly settled into her new job and became immensely excited about the possibilities for international co-operation that accompanied the establishment in June 1919 of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom's Geneva Headquarters and the solidification of ties to National Sections in each member country.[9] In a letter to Catherine Marshall, Royds identified what areas she felt the new International Secretary, Emily Balch, could explore first to enlist the widest participation of member sections:

> It would be interesting to know numbers & political & educational influence of each section; women's questions to the fore at the moment, & action being taken etc. The Education scheme seems to me one of the most possible to get some parts working at once--as for example interchange of students. But I must see what the Committee wants to suggest & then get into official touch with Miss Balch. (This sounds rather as if I wanted to suggest what she should do to her! I was really only thinking of what I should like going!)[10]

Royds's experiences in Germany and Corsica reinforced her belief that student exchanges and contacts with foreign nationals provided excellent opportunities for people to learn about life in another culture, and she hoped that the WILPF would encourage it among member sections.

"We have always felt in our section the great importance of purely educational work, since that alone goes to the root of present troubles"[11] Royds wrote to Emily Balch. The WILPF might achieve something like a student exchange, the British National Section

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[9] The WILPF was, and still is, comprised of national sections in member countries; the British Section is known as the WIL. These national sections were overseen between congresses by an International President, International Co-Chairmen, and an International Executive Committee. Henceforth, all references to the WILPF designate the international administration, while all references to the WIL designate the British National Section.

[10] Kathleen Royds to Catherine Marshall, June 15, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.

[11] Kathleen Royds to Emily Balch, July 21, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.

suggested to Emily Balch in late 1919, by staging an international Summer School.[12] Balch liked the idea but thought that such an ambitious project would require a substantial amount of planning, more than she was able to give at the time.[13]

The WIL, therefore, went to work on a national one. From the point of view of the international headquarters, this "first W.I.L.P.F. summer school in 1920, in Buckinghamshire, England, was looked upon as an innovation" (Randall 295). Summer schools had been developed by other societies in Great Britain, addressing topics such as the "History, Literature and Arts of Spain," "Control of Industry, Prices and Wages," "Some Problems of Social and Industrial Reconstruction," and "Economics and other Kindred Subjects."[14] But the WIL wanted to organize one based on their own special pacifist ideals. In mid 1920, therefore, Royds set to work and by September 3 was able to report to Balch that "We have had no difficulty at all in filling our accommodation."[15] The letter helped boost Balch's confidence that an international summer school might be just as successful.

Not surprisingly, when the time came, the International Executive asked the British Section to organize the first post-war international gathering of its kind. Most of the work fell to one of the school's most enthusiastic promoters: Royds herself. She began preparations a month before the doors of their own school, in October of 1920, had even opened. Arranging accommodations, managing accounts and reasoning with bureaucrats (to get travel permits, letters of assurance, etc.) brought no surprises for Royds, who had done it all before--and under worse circumstances--for the Scottish Women's Hospitals, Serbian Relief Fund, and Serb-Croat-Slovene Child Welfare Association.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom held two major events in 1921; both were in Austria as a gesture of goodwill toward the former 'belligerent' nations. Vienna hosted the International Congress in mid-July, and Salzburg welcomed the Summer School participants from August 1-15, 1921. To this latter gathering, 300 women and men travelled from 17 countries to hear lectures on psychology and on historical and political approaches to peace education. They went straight to the top for a speaker on psychology--"Freud is being asked," reported Kathleen Royds in a letter to Catherine Marshall.[16] He turned down the invitation.

Students also attended classes on German, French, and English literature, music, and art and participated in social activities orchestrated to fit the school's theme "Education for Internationalism." What they wanted most, as Emily Balch observed, was an opportunity to

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[12] Kathleen Royds to Emily Balch, November 13, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.

[13] Emily Balch to Kathleen Royds, December 10, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.

[14] Kathleen Royds to Emily Balch, March 22, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.

[15] Kathleen Royds to Emily Balch, September 3, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.

[16] Kathleen Royds to Catherine Marshall, February 15, 1921. WILPFm I:D:3.

communicate: "The young people, especially, could not have enough of discussion. At seven o'clock in the morning they would meet to carry on further debate.... To many it was like getting out of a long confinement to get in touch with such a varied group after the long isolation of the war years."[17]

The WILPF were fortunate to secure high-profile Salzburg hosts for the school--Stefan and Fredericka Zweig. Stefan Zweig had been a central figure along with Hugo van Hofmannsthal and Arthur Schnitzler in the literary circle known as Jung Wein in turn-of-the-century Vienna (Janik and Toulmin 45).[18] During the First World War he became a pacifist and moved to Salzburg with his wife. As a great admirer and friend of Freud, it was probably Zweig who proffered the invitation on behalf of the women's organization, but to no avail.

Despite some disappointments over not getting the WILPF's wish-list of speakers, Royds's plans for the school came off splendidly in the end. She made several trips to Salzburg and Vienna in 1920 and 1921 to scout suitable accommodations and facilities for the international event and to meet with officials--including the Governor--in Salzburg who would be in a position to raise the school's visibility.[19] She and Fredericka Zweig surmounted the many practical problems of organizing an international event in such a poor country. Mercedes Randall, Emily Balch's biographer, described Royds's "triumph of organization":

> The food problem [in Austria] was still very acute, but even that did not daunt Miss Royds. For she arranged that consignments of certain staple foods be imported for [the WILPF's] use, so that we should not take away any of the people's bread. As Austrian currency was worth very little, we thought at first we would make out purchases there in English currency. But naturally the residents implored us not to do that, as it would have made their own shopping so much harder. We compromised by paying in Austrian money and putting the difference between the two currencies into a common fund, which was handed over to the town on our departure. I did not envy Miss Royds her task of bookkeeping. She actually made that Summer School profitable, and the British Section was able to hand over to Headquarters a nice little sum [£160] as capital for further vacation schools. That this was somehow contrived while charging the nationals of countries whose currency had crashed very small fees indeed, seemed to me a triumph of organization.[20]

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[17] Emily Balch, notes on her journey to Vienna for the WILPF Congress and to Salzburg for the summer school of 1921. WILPFm I:E:2.

[18] Both Hofmannsthal and Zweig went on to write libretti for Richard Strauss--Hofmannsthal in the first decade of the twentieth century, Zweig in the 1930s.

[19] Kathleen Royds to Emily Balch, December 20, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.

[20] Randall 345. During the period from November 1920 to June 1921, much of Kathleen Royds's correspondence with Emily Balch at International WILPF Headquarters in Geneva concerned arrangements for

The marvel of Royds's organizational talents was that with a "conspicuous absence of fuss and verbiage" she capably handled not only the biggest arrangements--securing accommodations, booking facilities, arranging for food--but also the smallest details (Pickard 575). Just as she had done six years previously for the Serbian refugees, meeting trains with tea and bread ready, so she greeted every train carrying students into Salzburg, ready with one of the first items students would need--local currency (Swanwick, "International Summer School" 1). Thanks to Royds and the Zweigs, the summer school's success made the experiment easier to repeat in the future.[21]

When Royds returned from Salzburg, she headed for Cove, Hampshire, the home of her sister, Maye, and brother-in-law, Allan Watson. She had moved to Cove in early July 1921, so that Watson, the parish vicar, might officiate at her wedding. In the presence of her eighty-one year old mother, sister Maye, first cousin Edward Royds, and friend Francis Gibbins--Kathleen Royds married George Innes on September 12, 1921.[22] Whether by design or coincidence this was the same date chosen in 1846 by Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning, whose "love-story" Royds once described as "one of the most romantic and beautiful in the history of men and women of letters."[23] Kathleen and George Innes did not run off to Italy as the Brownings had, for they had already spent many magical moments together in Corsica--their most memorable one being the donkey trip into the mountains. In fact, if they took a honeymoon at all, it was very short, for Emily Horscroft, of the WIL office staff, spent her short holiday with the Inneses that October.[24]

Royds had not "married this fellow in a moment of aberration," as Edward initially supposed (Royds, Interview). The ceremony, which took place almost six years after the two first met, not only brought them together in what would prove to be a long, happy domestic life but also solidified their partnership in human rights activism and peace promotion. When Kathleen Innes's mother died at the age of eighty-two, less than one year later (April 26, 1922), she died knowing that her daughter had married a man who respected and admired Kathleen's work and supported her desire to continue working in the public sphere.

The couple's move to Lewes, Sussex, where George was a partner in a local engineering business, necessitated Kathleen Innes's resignation

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the Summer School.

[21] The success, for example, made easier the following year's task of securing a larger number of high-profile speakers such as Emily Balch, Herman Hesse, Bertrand Russell, Romain Rolland, George Duhamel, Paul Birukoff (secretary and biographer of Tolstoy) and others (Bussey and Tims 41).

[22] An occasional reference to someone named Gibbins appeared in Royds's "To Serbia" diary and in letters home.

[23] Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her Poetry 94.

[24] See Emily Horscroft to Miss Wossner September 26, 1921: "I am having a short holiday next month and am going to stay with Mrs. Innes (Miss Royds). We miss her so much in the Office and her removal has entailed a great deal of extra work on those remaining" (WILPFm III:298).

from her £200/year post as WIL office secretary in London, but she immediately joined the Brighton WIL Branch.[25] She also joined the Lewes Branch of the League of Nations Union, which George Innes chaired (KER/6). Like the Scottish Women's Hospitals staff who were reluctant to see her leave, the London WIL Headquarters' staff did not like to see her go. Recognizing her dedication and organizational efficiency, delegates to the WIL Annual Council of 1922 voted her onto the Executive. This necessitated only monthly rather than daily trips to London, which she gladly made.

From their new home base, Kathleen and George Innes immediately began planning innovative ways to foster public sympathy for peace and internationalism and developed the idea of a group tour to Geneva to witness the League Assembly in action. The first tour in 1923, three years after the League's foundation, drew about 30 people; two years later, its popularity having spread like wildfire, Kathleen Innes scrambled to book suitable accommodations for more than 80.[26] Seeing what "effect ... the League at work had on people who had only known of it before in theory" was immensely satisfying to the Inneses, who even through the League's darkest days remained staunch supporters of its ideals. "To see fifty nations really trying in the spirit of peace to solve the world problems," she said, "was in itself an inspiration."[27] Kathleen and George Innes organized these tours throughout the 1920s and possibly into the 1930s.

They arranged a variety of activities for the groups. In addition to watching sessions of the Assembly, students could attend lectures on the League, world history, and current events. Nature-lovers and history buffs themselves, Kathleen and George Innes also wanted students to leave Geneva with an appreciation of its beauty and history. They toured "The old town, with its quaint houses piled up the slopes to the citadel, crowned by the Cathedral [in which] ... you can see the chair which belonged to the great Reformer, Calvin, when he lived and preached in Geneva in the sixteenth century, and made it in those days an international centre for the spread of ideas which brought about the Reformation" (Story 43-44). They saw the university "where students of many nationalities come to study" (44), the Hall of Reformation where the League Assembly met, the large hotel housing the League Secretariat, and the former boys' school "allotted to the work of the International Labour Office" (49).

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[25] KER/6; Women's International League Executive Committee Minutes, April 18, 1918, WIL/BLPES 1/1.

[26] Kathleen Innes to Vilma Glücklich, August 22, 1925. WILPF III-12-23.

[27] WIL Special Council Minutes, Oct. 14, 1925. WILPF III-12-23. These remarks were made as part of her explanation upon moving a resolution aimed at "mak[ing] a special point of following the work of the Council of the League [of Nations] and of the various Commissions and Organisations" and "secur[ing] the organising of a small representative group, to be in Geneva during the Assembly with a view to taking any possible means for the formation and information of public opinion on Assembly proceedings and in particular on the part of played in them by our own Government."

The tours were open to anyone interested, though they were aimed primarily to provide LNU speakers with first-hand experience of the League in action. Vera Brittain, one of these students, recalled they managed to do just that--"revive with direct contacts and 'local colour' the material for next year's speeches" (Testament of Youth 556).

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> When our treaty obligations never to use war as a means of settling disputes are realised by all teachers, the hopes for war prevention in the next generations will be greatly increased.
>
> - The Prevention of War

Most WIL and League of Nations Union activities focused on adult audiences, so Kathleen Innes tried to find ways of attracting youth support for the League. In 1924, Innes approached Leonard Woolf--both a League supporter and publisher--with a book manuscript on the League. "In speaking & teaching I have realised the need of such a book," she wrote, "& I do not know of any which quite fills the gap" (HP 192).

> I have aimed simply at a quite straight forward story of facts for young people in their teens, as the only books I know on the subject do not tell these, & are very much 'written down' to children. I think those of the age I have in mind do not need this, & should be interested in the real facts.[28]

The idea intrigued Woolf.[29] "I should much like to publish it," he replied, "but a book of this sort requires careful handling, particularly by a publisher who has not previously gone in for this kind of book to any extent."[30] Woolf, therefore, advised her to seek League of Nations Union support for the book.

Innes wrote back complaining that she "had such dreadful experiences of the unbusinesslike methods of the Union Headquarters" that she did not think it worth soliciting their support. When pressed for reasons, she admitted to first approaching Allen & Unwin, who required LNU backing. As she told Woolf: "I only sent it to them [the LNU] after much delay & hesitation," and they "Returned it ... through Miss Hebe Spaull whom they employ to write for children, & into whose hands it should never have got" (November 10, 1924; HP 192). After further strong hints from Leonard Woolf, Innes finally agreed to let the LNU see it, and they agreed to help promote it.[31]

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[28] Kathleen Innes to Leonard Woolf, November 5, 1924. HP 192.

[29] Woolf commented in a letter to Dr. Garnett of the LNU that he was "anxious" to publish Innes's books "as I think very well of the way in which it has been carried out and of the idea" (December 1, 1924; HP 192).

[30] Leonard Woolf to Kathleen Innes, November 8, 1924. HP 192.

[31] See also Leonard Woolf to Kathleen Innes, November 13, 1924 and Kathleen Innes to Leonard Woolf, November 15, 1924. HP 192.

One hurdle successfully overcome, another loomed in the distance: securing enough guarantors to pay Hogarth Press in case sales did not entirely cover costs. Leonard Woolf the businessman was not keen to take any risks with such a new venture as Innes's book--the first book for children published by the press and only their second political, non-literary publication.[32] During the month of January 1925, Innes was in for an emotional roller-coaster ride. At times, she would be excited about the prospect of having a new book; at times she worried herself almost to the point of abandoning it because she did not want to have to call on the guarantors should it not sell.[33] In the end, she acquired enough support to ease her conscience should she have to call in the favours.

The way was not yet clear for Innes's book, however. Woolf sent letters to those who might either help sell the book or promote it in their organizations. One of these letters went to Philip Noel Baker (who in 1959 would be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize). Baker wrote immediately to Woolf: "As a matter of fact I take a particular interest in this because as I think you know, I am under contract to give Nesbits before the end of April of this year [1925] a MSS of 30,000 words for a book of a similar kind for children. I wonder if there will be overlap?" Baker told Woolf that Innes's book "appears to me to be conceived in exactly the right way to be useful and I should think that Mrs Innes from what I have heard would do it admirably."[34] Leonard Woolf responded that had he known about Baker's book he "should not have dreamt of accepting this. Unfortunately it has now gone too far."[35]

Hogarth Press published The Story of the League of Nations, told for young people in April 1925. And for the Woolfs there was nothing "unfortunate" about it. As Virginia Woolf exclaimed in a letter to Janet Case, "The book is selling in quantities, for some reason, and we expect to make our fortune" (Woolf, Letters, June 25, 1925). The original print run of 2500 copies sold out within six months, and by July 1930 Story was into its fifth impression with 7000 copies distributed (HP 192).[36] Story sold largely because of Innes's own promotional efforts. She produced for Hogarth Press long lists of people and societies who might be interested, and with Leonard Woolf's help, she had the book approved by the London County Council for use in

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[32] The Hogarth Press's first political book was Norman Leys's Kenya, published six months before Innes's Story of the League of Nations. Their third such book was John Maynard Keynes's The Political Consequences of Mr. Churchill published the month following Innes's.

[33] Kathleen Innes to Leonard Woolf, January 14, 1925 and January 24, 1925. HP 192.

[34] Philip Noel Baker to Leonard Woolf, February 3, 1925. HP 192.

[35] Leonard Woolf to Philip Noel Baker, February 5, 1925. HP 192.

[36] J.H. Woolmer's Hogarth Press checklist indicates that the initial print run was 1,000 copies. The Hogarth Press file 192 at the University of Reading, however, clearly documents the first print run as 2,500. The second impression in October 1925 was 1,500. Subsequent impressions in June 1926, June 1927, and July 1930 were also 1,500 (HP 192).

schools. She took upon herself the task of making the book known to teachers and heads of schools.

Innes contributed as well to the actual packaging of her book. She wanted first and foremost to keep the price within reach of her potential readers, something they could manage if she agreed to the cheaper paper-cover rather than stiff boards or cloth, as Woolf suggested.[37] But her desire all along had been to produce a book suitable for use in schools; therefore, as she explained to Woolf, "I do not think an ordinary paper cover good for young people, but I think the little book would be far more likely to sell for 1s/6d than for 2s/6d. I wonder if you know the cheaper (blue) edition of Harraps 'Poetry & Life Series.' The cover is quite pliable but untearable and looks very nice. I wonder if something like this would be possible. I could let you see a copy if you wished."[38] Woolf liked the idea, for the book came out with the pliable covers--another new departure for Hogarth.

The success of this first book no doubt prompted the Woolfs to publish How the League of Nations Works (1926), The League of Nations and the World's Workers (1927), and The Reign of Law (1929).[39] Only the second book fared as well as the first: Hogarth set an original print run of 2500 and followed this with a second impression of another 2000 copies; a new edition with a print run of 2000 appeared in 1934. Neither the third nor fourth book sold as well as the first two, but they did receive modest sales which covered costs.

Story presented an historical account of the league idea, beginning with the Amphictyonic League in ancient Greece, through to the visions of William Penn, Abbé St. Pierre, Immanuel Kant, and Czar Nicholas II. The book ends with a description of the League of Nations' establishment at the end of the war. Though Innes was highly critical of the Treaty of Versailles and the fact that the "victors" would not initially admit the conquered into the new League, she presented no criticism. Rather, her aim was to get students thinking internationally by focusing on the League's positive aspects. As she wrote in the Foreword to her second book:

> Critical examination of the League's tasks has not been attempted. Those directing young people's study of League achievement will, no doubt, point out where work has been criticised and is justly open to criticism. This is the inevitable prelude to balanced thought and useful constructive effort. (5)

Her titles, though not terribly imaginative, were certainly descriptive. How the League of Nations Works,[40] as the name suggests, detailed the actual organization and function of the League's Council, Assembly, and Secretariat, while The League of Nations and the Worlds'

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[37] Leonard Woolf to Kathleen Innes, December 26, 1924. HP 192.

[38] Kathleen Innes to Leonard Woolf, December 30, 1924. HP 192.

[39] The first two of these were also approved for use in the London County Council Schools.

[40] Hereafter this work will be abbreviated in the text as "How LON Works."

Workers outlined the International Labour Organization's activities, making extended reference to conventions passed regarding protective legislation, workers' unions, health and safety standards, compensation for unemployment, minimum wages, and slavery and forced labour. Her fourth book, The Reign of Law, addressed the work of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

In 1936, Hogarth Press collected these four books together, and with Innes's new revisions and additions, published them as The League of Nations, the Complete Story. By the mid-1930s, Innes felt that circumstances demanded criticisms of the League's handling of events in Spain, Africa, and the Far East, so she willingly presented these. Peace education, she argued, played a crucial role in the League's survival: "Ignorant prejudice is the first enemy to progress. Indiscriminate praise is the second. The base from which alone both can be combated is a knowledge of the facts" (How LON Works 5). Witnessing the League's demise, Innes tried again to impress upon readers that the institution was not at fault--the people were--, so all hope should not be abandoned.

Teaching remained a concern for Innes, who after she stopped doing it full-time continued to guest lecture in schools on the League of Nations and to keep in touch with her former colleagues. The Women's International League knew of her connections within the British school system and voted her first onto their Education Committee, then onto the International Education Committee as the British Section representative.[41] In the 1930s, as her involvement on the international scene developed, she became a Referent for Progressive Education in Europe and kept apprised of European efforts to incorporate peace education into school curricula.[42]

The Prevention of War, published in 1932, presented some of her findings on European efforts to incorporate peace education into school curricula. In a chapter on "Demilitarisation: Moral Disarmament," Innes recalled that "The [League] Assembly of 1924 passed an interesting resolution on the subject of the education of youth for the new-world order of co-operation, for which the League, at its best, stands."[43] Individual nations, on the other hand, did not always respect the spirit of resolutions passed by the Assembly. Countries may agree in principle that citizens throughout the world should be taught that peaceful settlement of disputes is preferable, but they did not see any problem with implementing at home practices that flew in the face of their international agreements. Such was the case in Britain which "from 1909 to 1928 [saw] the strength of the O.T.C.'s [Officer Training Corps'] in schools ... multiplied more than four-fold, while through the whole first decade of the League of Nations the cost of the O.T.C.'s to the

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[41] Kathleen Royds to Emily Balch, December 19, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.

[42] Printed WILPF Congress Report, 1932: 14. Referents monitored both world governmental and non-governmental activities regarding specific issues and reported back to Congress and/or International Executive Committee Meetings. They also put suggested courses of action, if necessary.

[43] The Prevention of War 74. Hereafter cited in the text as "Prevention."

British tax-payer was more each year than our contribution to the League of Nations" (Prevention 81). She argued that in England government support for the promotion of militarism in schools undermined the League of Nations and "might instil into the minds of our youth that war is something normal and inevitable" (Prevention 81).

The OTC programs were, of course, aimed primarily at boys and supported primarily by male teachers. The experience of selling her own books for children convinced Innes that "women teachers are far more widely interested than men teachers in the League of Nations." She speculated on why this might be:

> Perhaps the men are subconsciously suppressing a conflict between "two masters" whom they might feel called otherwise to try to serve--the one retrograde, inert, reluctant to change, the other progressive, alive, and eager to go forward to the new world order which has already outlawed war and which bids them teach the young that now international co-operation is the "normal method of conducting world affairs." When our treaty obligations never to use war as a means of settling disputes are realised by all teachers, the hopes for war prevention in the next generations will be greatly increased. (81)

Kathleen Innes saw in the 1920s that hopes for a better world might be realized in the education of young people. So she divided her time between lecturing to adults and to children, writing for adults and for children. But her aims had not changed: she still expounded the wrongheadedness of militarism and the value of democracy and of women's participation in international affairs.

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> Have women a special point of view about war and a special contribution to make to the problem of ending it?
>
> - Women and War

In the sphere of international education, Innes saw that women teachers displayed far greater inclination to support the League's demilitarization and disarmament initiatives than did male educators; she noticed this divide of opinion in other spheres as well. Not only did women have "a special point of view about war," but she strongly believed that feminism and pacifism were fundamentally inseparable, as did Helena Swanwick, Vera Brittain, and Virginia Woolf.[44] Like Helena Swanwick, she suggested that women tended to be pacifists because (1) "their experiences of war are different from those of the men" and (2) they "inevitably [have a] different outlook on the value of life."[45]

While male non-combatants suffered pangs of guilt and shame or, among the pacifists, persecution as conscientious objectors, female non-combatants withstood in the war's early years the continual demand to support the war effort and in later years the sometimes vitriolic

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[44] See Helena Swanwick's Women and War; Chapter 13 of Vera Brittain's Lady into Woman; Virginia Woolf's Three Guineas.

[45] Innes, Women and War 2. Swanwick's Women and War 13-4 covers some of the same ground in more detail.

rebukes for their part--real or imagined--in "driving" men to enlist.[46] Even those women who worked in field hospitals, drove ambulances, and became mechanics near the front experienced the war differently from combatants; they did not experience the rush of "going over the top," though they did, as many recorded in their diaries, experience the thrill of working in battle zones and travelling unchaperoned--things they would not have thought possible only ten, five, or even two years before.[47]

The social, economic, and sexual release of women during the First World War has been described as the "force that destroys men [and] brings power and vigor to the community of women" (Auerbach 162), and its effect as securing political and economic power at the expense of the lives and health of men (Gilbert and Gubar 270). Whether or not this is true of the "little mothers" who bravely "pass[ed] on the human ammunition of 'only sons' to fill up the gaps"[48] is debatable, but as a description of Innes and her feminist pacifist colleagues the assessment widely misses the mark. No lasting good would come from asserting power over men maimed and disempowered by war, they thought. But although both men and women would have to work together, "on women rests a large share of the responsibility for providing the motive-power which alone can make [an end to war] possible," argued Catherine Marshall (Florence et al. 40). Swanwick's view was similar. Men will learn to abandon war

> much faster when women have studied the causes of war and set themselves against them; when women cease to idealise pugnacity in men and see it in its true light as fretful egoism; when, finally, women who demand citizenship join with democratic men and thus show that they understand the very foundation of their own claims and can teach men to understand better the democratic creed which they profess. (Swanwick, Women and War 6)

Marshall and Swanwick promoted these ideals during the First World War; Innes reasserted their views in her 1934 pamphlet, Women and War. She too felt that it would be in everyone's--not just women's--best interest for such a "deliberate cause of 'great misery'" (2) to be abandoned as a means of settling disputes. As she put it:

> The sheer folly of bringing up young men, training them to fulfil their duties as good citizens, and then, through

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[46] See, for example, Siegfried Sassoon's notorious "The Glory of Woman" and the following excerpt from a 1917 Christmas card designed by Isaac Rosenberg: "British women! in your wombs you plotted / This monstrous girth of glory," which Rosenberg admitted was "the cause of this enormous pleasure to me." He described the poem as "a patriotic gush[,] a jingo spasm" (Rosenberg 251).

[47] See May Sinclair's Journal of Impressions in Belgium (10) and Innes's diary fragments and war letters for examples of the freedom and exhilaration experienced by women doing war work.

[48] From "A Mother's Answer to 'A Common Soldier', by A Little Mother; A Message to Pacifists; A Message to the Bereaved; A Message to the Trenches" quoted in Robert Graves, Good-bye To All That 189.

> blundering diplomacy, dooming them to wholesale slaughter, calls for the condemnation of cold reason, quite as much as the condemnation of emotions. The waste of war appals very many women. Whatever it may have done in the remote past, war certainly no longer protects anyone half as effectively as the avoidance of war by the exercise of reason and restraint. (3)

Men--as Swanwick argued in 1915, Innes reinforced in 1934, and Virginia Woolf so eloquently asserted again in 1938--fight "to procure benefits which [women] have not shared and probably will not share" (Woolf, Three Guineas 125), because women had no rights of their own except those granted by men--be they fathers or politicians, clergy or generals. Such men, Marshall argued, "in possession of power of whatever kind, whether of wealth, or office, or political ascendancy" (Florence et al. 45) were the ones best suited for the use of force, hence the connection between patriarchy and militarism. Because of the interdependencies of these two mentalities, "Militarist states always tend to degrade women to the position of breeders and slaves" (Swanwick, Women and War 3). Swanwick, Marshall, Innes, and Woolf all, from their various perspectives, ultimately argued the same point: militarism "affect[s] the position of women ... altogether evilly," as Swanwick put it (3).

Women's inferior strength was analogous to the weak nation's: "The sanction of brute force by which a strong nation 'hacks its way' through a weak one is precisely the same as that by which the stronger male dictates to the weaker female" (4). Innes, drawing on this "physical force" argument, went on to argue in 1934 that women, "whose strength does not depend on force, are bound to lose where force is the governing factor. For them the conquest of the world by reasonable co-operation must have tremendous appeal, in contrast to the methods of force.... Under Fascist and Nazi Dictatorships, for example, where force is glorified, it is inevitable that the position of women should be degraded" (3).

Innes's promotion of the "physical force" argument must have seemed incongruous to those who heard her speak on the subject, for she was a very tall, fit woman, eminently aware of her own size. In a letter to her parents during the war, she mentioned a doctor on her way to Corsica, whom "They say ... is even bigger than I am!"[49] Her endorsement of the physical force argument of women's pacifism was based on what she considered to be the largely accurate "fact" that men's greater political and economic power made them the ones best suited for, and most likely to resort to, the use of force. As she said in a 1938 speech to the WILPF Executive: "Men must learn that this method of theirs for the so-called settlement of disputes is selfish and self-indulgent, and now a threat to civilisation" (WILPF I:A:66).

Some pacifists, following Swedish feminist Ellen Key, similarly argued that women more so than men tended toward pacifism; however, their background assumptions about the foundation of women's pacifism differed enormously from Innes's and Swanwick's. Key believed that in wartime nations sent off their fittest and strongest to die, while the weak and unfit were left at home to propagate the race. Drawing on English scientist C.W. Saleeby's "The longest war: race degeneration," Key explained that, for example, the fall of the Roman Empire could be

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[49] Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds, October 9-14, 1915. KER/1.

attributed to wars that "killed off the flower of its manhood" (88). And drawing on the work of German scientist Paul Kammerer, she claimed that although the numbers of births per year increase after wars, those births "will always, from the point of view of race, be in the least desirable classes" (90). Ellen Key supported the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (as she noted in War, Peace, and the Future), but her views were not uniformly shared by WILPF members; in fact, they were probably shared by only a very few. Certainly within the British Section her arguments held little sway, since many members believed that peace and freedom entailed the elimination, not reinscription, of class barriers.

Whatever the reasons women gave for their own or other women's pacifism, they were, as Innes pointed out, usually accused of "emotionalism" or "sentimentalism"--the implication being that they did not really understand international affairs. For these people, Innes had a ready response. "[T]hose who do not actually engage in the battle are perhaps in a position to make a saner judgment upon it [the morality of war] as a whole than those who do. When it is a question of balancing emotions, the price paid for the thrill of battle certainly seems excessive, and I believe that women generally are more capable of realizing this" (Women and War 2). Furthermore, she denied that women's societies "lay too much stress on the emotional appeal to fear":

> What I have found is an appeal to something which I think is perfectly justified. We should not be afraid for ourselves of what may happen if war comes.... What we should fear (and here I am not afraid of the appeal to fear) is the bringing upon others of such horror and misery as war entails, by the deliberate use of a method which is avoidable. (8)

Feminist pacifists like Innes believed that in women's societies they could more effectively develop radical critiques of the connection between patriarchy and militarism than in the male-dominated societies such as the Union of Democratic Control, because the men in these groups were less likely to put any stock in the notion that there might be a connection between the two. Publicly, the UDC encouraged women's involvement, but privately the founders expressed second thoughts: "I gather Norman Angell is a little afraid of women, [E.D.] Morel told [Charles] Trevelyan, then added 'which, within limits, is a proper frame of mind.'"[50] With such ambivalent "support," Swanwick and Innes had little hope in the 1910s and 1920s of impressing the male-dominated organization to accept a more resolutely feminist approach to international affairs based on the premise that the ethical principles of democracy had not been entirely fulfilled.

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[50] Letter from E.D. Morel to C. Trevelyan, September 17, 1914. Qtd in Schwartz 57n44.

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> "How much safer we would be," said one woman peace worker, "if only the men would stop protecting us."
> - qtd in Innes's Women and War

Neither Swanwick nor Innes ever doubted that women could understand foreign affairs as well, or indeed as poorly, as men. Innes's confidence in her own abilities is borne out by her acceptance of the Women's International League position after another woman had turned it down "on the ground that she did not know enough about international politics."[51] WIL members wasted no time worrying over their "unfeminine" image or trying to argue away criticism of their engagement in international affairs. They believed, in the words of Elsie Inglis, founder of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, that the "ordinary male disbelief in our capacity cannot be argued away. It can only be worked away" (qtd in Mitchell 181).[52] WIL members found in their marginality a certain amount of freedom to hold publicly all manner of unpopular views such as feminist pacifism.

The story of the WIL's origins has been told many times over:[53] after the International Woman Suffrage Alliance meeting in the Netherlands was cancelled due to the outbreak of war, pacifists within the organization decided to go ahead with a meeting to call for a negotiated peace, even though the leadership and membership alike were divided over the war. Dr. Aletta Jacobs,[54] first woman doctor in Holland and founder of the first known birth control clinic (1882), organized this meeting in The Hague in 1915. More than one thousand women from twelve countries (including Germany and France) attended--a truly remarkable number for a wartime meeting. Innes was not among this crowd of pioneers since she was blazing her own trails in Corsica; her sympathies, however, were with them.

Not all women, however, opposed war. What dismayed those who became vocal pacifists was the fact that many suffrage workers so readily plunged into the war effort. To Swanwick, this state of affairs was unbelievable, since in her opinion "Every suffrage society ought to be a pacifist society and realise that pacifist propaganda is an integral part of suffrage propaganda" (11). But the fact remained that the militant suffragettes immediately turned from their aggressive campaigns against the government to equally aggressive campaigns against

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[51] WIL Executive Committee Minutes, April 18, 1818. WIL/BLPES 1/1.

[52] Inglis' injunction is reminiscent of the militant suffragette Women's Social and Political Union motto: "Deeds not words."

[53] See especially Bussey and Tims's history of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Liddington's briefer narrative.

[54] Aletta Jacobs's considerable library of documents on women's history were the basis for the extensive Gerritsen Collection of Women's History.

the "German Peril," as Christabel Pankhurst put it in a speech at the London Opera House shortly after the war began.[55]

Even Millicent Garrett Fawcett's constitutional (as opposed to militant) suffrage society was deeply divided. Fawcett, President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), originally signed the International Suffrage Alliance's Appeal for Peace. This act so upset Lord Robert Cecil, Independent Conservative MP for Hertfordshire and hitherto supporter of women's suffrage, that he immediately wrote saying that "the action seems so unreasonable under the circumstances as to shake my belief in the future of women to deal in great Imperial questions" (qtd in Morgan 135).[56] Fawcett withdrew her support from the Appeal for Peace (in fact, before she received Cecil's letter), which may have restored some of the politician's "faith" in women, but this in turn enraged half of her NUWSS Officers and Executive, among them Helena Swanwick, Catherine Marshall, Kathleen Courtney, Margaret Ashton, Ethel Snowden, Maude Royden, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, and Isabella Ford (Liddington 187); they quit the NUWSS in protest and formed in the autumn of 1915 the Women's International League--British National Section of the organization founded at The Hague and whose international President was Jane Addams (USA). These women believed that there could be no true peace without equality and no true equality without peace.

By 1919, Innes was in the thick of WIL activities as Office Secretary and became a member of the 25-strong delegation from the British National Section attending the Second International Congress in Zurich. It included many familiar names in the labour, suffrage, and pacifist movements: Ethel Snowden, Helena Swanwick, Ellen Wilkinson, Catherine Marshall, Mary Sheepshanks (Bussey and Tims 29). The list of motions that delegates debated reads like a summary of the most pertinent "women's issues" of the day: women's suffrage, the national and international political status of women, the application of slavery laws to women, equality between husband and wife, the endowment of motherhood, equal moral standards for men and women, equal pay, equal education, and equal opportunities, women as home-makers and consumers, and the responsibilities of unmarried parents. No doubt Innes had these issues in mind when writing to Marshall shortly after the Congress, that "women's questions to the fore at the moment" were one of her greatest interests, alongside education.

Over the years she brought many women's issues forward for discussion at WIL Executive Committee Meetings--from the international Equal Rights Treaty, which proposed that "The Contracting States shall

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[55] Vellacott, "A Place for Pacifism" 27-28; Eglin 223. Jo Vellacott suggests that for many of the non-militant (i.e., non-violent) suffragists their rejection of force was no mere chance, but a "carefully thought out position" (27). In contrast, "Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst ... played on women's emotions, but they showed little respect for the reasoning powers of those same women, and curiously, no inclination to practice in their own organization the democratic principles they professed to be so eager to see extended to themselves in the state" (28).

[56] Vellacott touches on Lord Cecil's connections with the suffrage movement in her biography of Catherine Marshall, From Liberal to Labour 190.

agree that upon the ratification of this Treaty men and women shall have equal rights throughout the territories subject to their respective jurisdictions"[57] to the National Union of Women Teachers' (NUWT) demand for the appointment of "a fair proportion of women" to all committees "dealing with the professional interests of women teachers."[58] She also supported the WIL's controversial endorsement of protective legislation for women and children. According to advocates, protective legislation reduced women's and children's exposure to "the worst evils of industrial working conditions" (Alberti 175); according to opponents, it amounted to unfair restrictions in employment opportunities and hours of work.

Far from being caught in a contradiction or suffering from a naive confusion, Innes believed there was a gap between ideal goals and real or possible achievements, which meant that change was usually achieved piecemeal. Any categorical rejection of even the smallest concession by industries to improve working conditions would be foolhardy. In her view, protective legislation should not be in place for women and children only, but for men as well; the London Society for Women's Service and the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (formerly the NUWSS) held a similar view (Alberti 177ff). Take all that you can get, and work harder for the rest, nicely captured her philosophy.

The WIL as a whole recognized that its constituency was composed of middle- and upper-class women. Thus, "It does not seem right," they argued, "that non-industrial women [like themselves] should take a line opposed to the expressed views of the organised workers on this point."[59] Not all WIL members supported this policy-decision; Vera Brittain (a Vice-President) and Helen Ward (on the Executive Committee), for example, spoke against protective legislation on several occasions (Alberti 174-5). Innes did support it, probably remembering her own family history in England's industrial heartland and swayed by the decisions of her colleagues in labour movements.

Innes saw protective legislation not simply as an equality issue but, perhaps to her more importantly, as a health and safety issue, as she suggested in The League of Nations and the World's Workers. She cited the debate over the production and use of lead-based paints as an example of what protective legislation could accomplish. With approval Innes reported, "A recommendation concerning the protection of women and children against lead-poisoning was agreed to at [an ILO Conference in] Washington in 1919, and in 1921 a Convention concerning the use of lead in painting was passed" (World's Workers 32). Many countries

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[57] WIL Executive Committee Meeting, November 17, 1930. WILPF III-13-15.

[58] WIL Executive Committee Minutes, June 9, 1931. WIL/BLPES 1/7.

[59] WIL position paper enclosed in a letter from Kathleen Innes to Lotti Birch, 15 January, 1937. WILPFm II:274. The question was not simply a class issue, since many women at the management level of trades unions and working-women's associations were themselves middle class. But as Alberti explains: "those organisers argued that feminists outside the Labour Movement had no direct knowledge or experience of the needs of industrial women and should not speak for them" (174). The WIL, it seems, took this to heart.

subsequently implemented laws restricting women's and children's workplace exposure to lead. The British Government, however, refused to ratify a convention forbidding "the use of white lead in paint for the insides of buildings with certain definite exceptions, i.e. railway stations and industrial buildings" (33). Her own government's 1926 Lead Paint Bill, which went some way to regulate the use of lead in industry, could be improved. "From November 1927 it will be unlawful to employ women or young persons in painting any part of a building with lead paint; but many experts think we should accept the Convention [restricting the use of lead-based paints inside buildings], instead of trying only to lessen the dangers of the use of lead in paint" (33).

Seeing protective legislation as a health and safety issue made it easier for Innes to recognize and justify the need for provisional improvements in industrial standards, however lop-sided those improvements might have been. While some in the women's movement saw the restrictions as paternalistic, Innes preferred to regard protective legislation as welcome, but necessary to extend to men also. Rather than removing safeguards and making women's and children's jobs as hazardous as men's, she argued that lobby efforts must be initiated to protect men's health, "wealth," and happiness as well.

Achieving equality and freedom for women and men was, Innes believed, a necessary prelude to peace. However, these goals did not always entail
bringing women's opportunities in line with men's; sometimes it meant bringing men's in line with women's. In the end, she maintained that a peaceful society was not so much a final state of affairs as a means of conducting affairs based on honesty, integrity, and respect.

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> Streams of pilgrims came from as far as Dundee, Carlisle, Bangor, Scarborough, Yarmouth, and Penzance, and they concentrated in Hyde Park on a Saturday in June.
>
> - Women and War

The diversity of Victorian women's movements had given way in the Edwardian period almost entirely to a single concerted effort to obtain the vote. Once that goal was achieved on a limited scale in 1918 (when suffrage was extended to women over 30), many women retired from public life. Some felt their demand had been satisfied; others were simply tired of the seemingly endless struggle for equality. Those like Innes who continued had a wide range of societies from which to choose, and many women did not limit themselves to only one. Innes belonged to several women's organizations over the years, including the Scottish Women's Hospitals, Women's International League, Women's Peace Crusade, Women's Institutes, National Council of Women, National Union of Women Teachers, and National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship; plus she belonged to at least as many organizations open to men and women.[60] Such a diversity of groups and the accompanying variety of agendas

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[60] For example: Union of Democratic Control, Society of Friends Peace Committee, League of Nations Union, United Nations Association, Society of Friends Slavery and Protection of Native Races Committee, National Peace Council/National Council for the Prevention of War, Northern Friends Peace Board.

inevitably led to competition for membership. Many of these societies, however, recognized their overlapping goals and co-operated on specific projects.

The WIL was a leader in this respect. In January 1926, it convened a conference in Caxton Hall, London, at which "23 Women's Organisations [were] officially represented besides many others unofficially."[61] Helen Ward proposed, seconded by Innes, "that a huge Arbitration pilgrimage from all quarters of Great Britain along the great roads to London be undertaken."[62] The general purpose would be "to bring home to the minds and hearts of the British people in a vivid and stirring manner, not merely the ideal of World Peace, but the need for definite action in order to attain that ideal."[63] The specific goal, as Innes described it, was "to secure the signature by Great Britain, of the Optional Clause in the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. This binds the signatories to submit any 'legal' disputes which may arise between them and another nation, for settlement to the Court. Our Government has shown considerable hesitation over agreeing to it" (Women and War 4). In spite of the General Strike of May 1926, which threatened to bring the country to a standstill, the pilgrimage went ahead,[64] and marchers began in May to work their way to London, holding meetings in villages, towns, and cities as they went. The resolution urging the British Government to sign the Optional Clause "was carried at over one thousand meetings and defeated at one" (5).

Innes joined the marchers on June 19, 1926 when the "pilgrims" from the North, South, East, and West converged on London's Hyde Park at 2:15pm in an impeccably co-ordinated display.[65] Innes had loved the spectacle of parades every since she was a young girl watching the Diamond Jubilee Parade of 1897 from the bow window of her family's home in St. Mary Bourne. In 1926, almost thirty years later, the appeal of pageantry and spectacle had not worn thin.

The Edwardian suffrage movement had relied on the drawing power of music and artistry, and so now did the women's peace movement.[66] The 1907 "Mud March" of 3,000 women might have "established the precedent of large-scale processions, carefully ordered and publicised, accompanied

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[61] Pax International 1.4 (April 1926).

[62] Ibid.

[63] Pilgrimage Committee Report: 3. WILPFm III:311. Hereafter cited as "PCR" in text.

[64] As it turned out, the strike lasted only nine days after the government "proved capable of rallying influential sections of public opinion in what was represented as an unconstitutional attempt by the trade-union movement to use industrial action to decide the fate of the coal dispute" (Stevenson 198). One notable result of the Strike, however, was that workers showed remarkable loyalty to the trade-union movement, for workers met the initial strike call "with a virtually complete response" (198).

[65] Pax International 1.4 (April 1926).

[66] See Lisa Tickner's The Spectacle of Women for an illuminating discussion of pageantry in the suffrage movement.

by banners, bands, and the colours of participant societies" (Tickner 78), but the Peacemakers Pilgrimage rivalled the crowds brought out by the large suffrage rallies of 1908 and 1913.

Indeed, the NUWSS's Women's Pilgrimage of 1913 was probably in the minds of Ward and Innes when they proposed their similar pilgrimage for peace.[67] Pilgrims on the earlier Women's Pilgrimage began in 17 large cities and gradually made their way to London. The NUWSS encouraged participants to wear a simple uniform: a solid-colour dress or matching, solid-colour skirt and blouse and "hats in the same colours but with a raffia cockade dyed to the red, white, and green" of the NUWSS (Tickner 141).

The Peacemaker's Pilgrimage Committee, hoping to bring as much pageantry as possible into the march, also settled on a simple uniform:

> Blue was chosen as the pilgrimage colour. An armlet of blue linen, stencilled with a conventional design of a dove, constituted the uniform of the pilgrims. A few wore blue linen tabards. In addition, each route has its own distinctive colour, which was blended with blue in the route banner and in a multitude of pennons which added so much gaiety of the processions. (PCR WILPFm III:311)

Colours blazed and marchers broke into song along the parade route. As the pilgrims "moved in radiant sunshine through the great London thoroughfares the spectacle attracted multitudes of spectators" (PCR 8).

> Here were women of the Guildhouse in blue cassocks and white collars, bearing their banner aloft; behind them walked members of the League of Nations Union, with bannerettes representing the various countries of the world. Here was a carriage filled with women graduates robed in black and scarlet and purple; there was a group of miners' wives. At the head of each of the processions rode a woman in a Madonna-blue cloak on a white horse; a notable figure was Miss Sybil Thorndike, who carried a banner embroidered with doves. Everywhere--in banners and pennons and tabards and armlets--a lovely blue was the predominating colour, the lovelier for the background of green foliage in the halting-place. (PCR 8)

The day did not end once the throng of women and men arrived in Hyde Park. Twenty-two platforms had been set up at which more than eighty speakers as diverse "as the movement itself" spoke on the Pilgrimage's aims (PCR 8). At six o'clock, speeches ceased and the "Resolution which had been previously carried all over the country was put from each platform simultaneously and carried with acclamation" (PCR 8).

In terms of numbers and good press the event was a huge success, with newspapers in North America eagerly taking up the story. "100,000 Women Pilgrims of Peace March in London: Four Great Processions, Leader of Each on White Horse Converge on Hyde Park" ran one New York Times headline of June 20, 1926. WIL members must have viewed with amazement

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[67] It is interesting to note that the woman who proposed the 1913 pilgrimage, Mrs. Harley, joined the first unit of the Scottish Women's Hospitals organized by Dr. Elsie Inglis. She later worked in Salonika and died in Monastir after being hit by shell-fire in 1917.

and hope the success of their initiative as they reflected back on the event and on the widespread base of support that it drew for Britain's full participation in the League of Nations. And while it still took the Government three more years to sign the League of Nations Covenants' Optional Clause, "No doubt," said Innes, "the Pilgrimage had done its share, with other propaganda, to prepare public opinion for acceptance of this step" (Women and War 5).

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> Surely in a world so full of burning problems and tragic happenings we, who stand for peace, can--if we choose--show that in settling our own internal affairs we are able to achieve light without heat?
>
> - Open letter in Pax International

At the same time that the Women's International League was co-operating so successfully with other British groups on peace and disarmament issues, relations between them and the WILPF International Executive Committee deteriorated. Divergent opinions about the political situation in Europe--inevitable at any gathering representing different national groups--manifested themselves in questions over the efficacy of the WILPF's structure.

The numerous international crises of the inter-war years tended to be divisive for most peace organizations, such as the League of Nations Union and the Union of Democratic Control. But the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom encountered special problems because of its unique structure. Unlike the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, comprised of representatives from national groups, the WILPF aimed at being a truly international organization. The International Executive Committee were elected "on an individual not a national basis" to represent the "international" point of view; the women were there not as national representatives, but as those capable of distilling information forwarded by national sections into an "international" opinion or workable plan of action (Bussey and Tims 32).[68] During the inter-war years, the British and Scandinavian sections believed that this "international" viewpoint had eroded to the point that the International Executive Committee had slipped into alignment with the more radical French and German sections. Therefore, the WIL mounted increasing pressure to allow either looser connections to, or more national representation on, the International Executive.[69]

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[68] More than one issue was responsible for the WIL's growing dissatisfaction with WILPF pronouncements. The WILPF's position on the 1932 Disarmament Declaration, the 1930s depression, and fascist oppression spreading in Europe significantly contributed to conflicts within the WILPF.

[69] As the situation stood in the 1920s, nine WILPF Executive members and the President were elected by Congress, not according to national origin but for their ability to think internationally. All national sections were then invited to send two Consultative members to the Executive Meetings, though they would have voting privileges at only one per year. The point of this practice was to give voice to all the national sections and even compensate for the possibly divergent

Innes, who had been a member of the WIL Executive since 1922, was elected WIL Vice-Chairman in 1927, and she remained in that position until 1934. This was also the period during which the tensions between the WIL and WILPF intensified, much to her dismay. Gabrielle Duchêne, a member of the French Section, circulated to national sections in late 1927 "Notes on a change in the method of electing the International Executive" (WILPF I-6-30). Duchêne basically defended the League's structure and emphasized the necessity of maintaining an Executive that reflected an international point of view. The fact that members of the Executive were frequently re-elected demonstrated Congress delegates' acceptance of their ability to represent this point of view. She did not agree with the suggestion of moving to national representation on the International Executive because the "international" perspective would be muddied by national concerns and because such a move would increase the executive committee's size to unmanageable proportions.[70]

This memo prompted the WIL to hold a special meeting in December 1927 to discuss the proposals and present their own. WIL President Kathleen Courtney, one of those most unhappy with the state of the WIL-WILPF relationship, argued that Duchêne set up a fallacious dichotomy between "international" and "national" views; "in working for the good of all, and for peace and freedom in all countries, we are each bound by the conditions of time and space, and our lives and our experience in our own countries are necessarily the basis from which we learn to understand the needs of other countries."[71] Courtney added that the present system allowed for two Consultative Members from each national section in addition to the nine elected members and President to attend the Executive meetings. Rather than increasing the number of the Executive, she argued, the British Section's proposal of having an executive to which each national section would send one member "would reduce ... the size of the Committee."

Innes too favoured national representation because it allowed for each section "to make sure the difficulties, etc. of their own nation had definite expression and consideration."[72] She added that "with the best will in the world a small Executive, while it may think it is acting quite disinterestedly, cannot look at things as impartially as implied, or see a problem exactly as any nation can see its own" (WIL/BLPES 4/15). Of course, at stake here were the problems caused for

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opinions within each section. The political side of the WIL/WILPF relationship will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

[70] Since I have not located Duchêne's original memo, these positions have been reconstructed from counter-arguments proposed by members of the British Section. Letter to National Sections from the British Section, January 25, 1928. WILPF I-6-30.

[71] Position-paper from WIL to all National Sections, 25 January 1928. WILPF I-6-30. The letter to National Sections contains excerpts from five speeches given at the December 1927 meeting on Duchêne's proposals. Records of this meeting are available in WIL/BLPES 4/15 (the WIL Special Executive Committee Meeting Minutes for 14 December 1927).

[72] WIL Special Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, 14 December 1927. WIL/BLPES 4/15.

the British Section by International Executive decisions, although the scheme could work to the advantage of smaller nations also.

Innes anticipated the objection that the more "backward" countries represented on such a new executive would pull the WILPF in their direction. Being involved, she argued,

> would help to educate them more rapidly than is possible if they are not directly engaged on the Executive. It is useless for an Executive to take decisions which the more backward members simply disagree with, without having had even the sense of being convinced, and the strength of the League of Nations seems to me actually to lie in what is referred to as a weakness, i.e. in the fact that it cannot go forward at the pace of the quickest and merely leave the others unconvinced or alienated. (WIL/BLPES 4/15)

Innes concluded her remarks at the December 14 meeting with the comment that WILPF Executive meetings to which all sections sent members with full voting rights would "give a much fuller sense of responsibility to all National Sections and a better corporate feeling," besides it would be "not at all likely" that every section would send someone to every meeting.

The spring 1928 meeting following Duchêne's and the WIL's proposals circulated was reasonably free of constitutional discussions because the WILPF already had a full agenda of items ranging from arms exports to China to international labour issues to making the WILPF's Geneva Headquarters (Maison Internationale, as they called it) into "more of a social centre."[73] Discussion, however, did continue at the WILPF Congress of 1929 held in Prague. In a compromise to full national representation on the Executive, Congress approved the resolution calling for the WILPF Executive membership to be increased to twelve but defeated the resolution (seen by the WIL as a compromise to full national representation on the executive) calling for Consultative members to be granted "full voting rights at all meetings" (Bussey and Tims 88). The concession of a slightly increased International Executive was not enough to satisfy some members of the British Section, but it was not until the political tensions caused by open German rearmament and widespread persecutions sanctioned by Nazis and Fascists that the British Section again found themselves at odds with International Headquarters' political positions.

The British Section felt, in the early 1930s, that some WILPF members were moving dangerously close to supporting social revolution by violent means and objected to the lack of good-will shown by the French and German Sections to the League of Nations. After British member, Edith Pye, was elected at the 1932 Grenoble Congress to the International Co-Chairmanship with Gertrud Baer of Germany, she discovered that the "strength of feeling among members of the British Section ... [was] so wide as to render it doubtful if there could continue to be useful co-operation."[74] At stake was the "extremism" of the International Executive from the WIL's point of view. Because of the diverse political make-up of the British Section's membership

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[73] Pax International 3.5 (May? 1928).

[74] Edith Pye to Emily Balch, June 27, 1932. EGB.

(Conservative, Liberal, Labour) the lines of action agreed to by the membership were often less radical and far-reaching than Headquarters lines. The British Section, for example, did not (as some sections did) endorse the Anti-War Congress held in August 1932 in Amsterdam because "As all observers have related, this Congress was not anti-war, but pro-class war, and it is an unfortunate circumstance that Madame Duchêne should have been its Vice-President."[75]

Tensions at the September 1933 Executive Meeting, which Innes attended as a Consultative member, continued to be high and heated debate ensued over political matters that had direct bearing on the constitution--as usual, with exchanges between "two clearly defined groups." Innes herself refused to cave into the pressure of seeing them as irrevocably divided. "All stand firmly for peace," she emphasized, "but one group is more immediately 'realist'--as well, it would claim as idealist--the other revolutionary." Settling on actions that would satisfy both groups was "inevitably a problem," she admitted, though one which WILPF members should continually strive to solve ("The W.I.L.P.F. Executive" [1933]).[76] She knew that many WIL members looked to the International Executive meeting that September to pass a British motion requiring unanimous agreement on political action, so when they did not, she extended an olive branch to her colleagues:

> Miss Pye made a fine appeal to all to act in the spirit of generosity for differing points of view at which the resolution aimed, and more than once in the debates some of the most impassioned partisans gave evidence of remembering the appeal and responding to it. It was in the interests of preserving a fair balance between different standpoints that Mme Ragaz was appointed as third Vice-Chairman to co-operate with Miss Pye and Fraulein Baer. ("The W.I.L.P.F. Executive")

Courtney, who for a long time had been at odds with the Executive, resigned the WIL Presidency after the defeat of Britain's proposal (Anderson 1). Innes, who desired to maintain good relations with the International, continued on as both WIL Chairman and as Consultative member for the British Section on the International Executive.

The Constitution continued to be a sore point at the 1934 International Congress at Zurich. The division of opinion, from the point of view of an onlooker, constituted a subtle yet immensely important shift in emphasis. The British, American, and Scandinavian Sections emphasized the organization's role in bringing women together to oppose "every kind of war, exploitation and oppression" and to "work for universal disarmament and for the solution of conflicts by the recognition of human solidarity, by conciliation and arbitration; by world co-operation, and by the establishment of social, political and economic justice for all, without distinctions of sex, race, class or creed."[77] They saw "social transformation" as necessary but not a

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[75] Kathleen Courtney, position paper. Enclosure in letter to Emily Balch, October 24, 1932. EGB.

[76] This taxonomy of approaches also appeared in Kathleen Courtney's position paper of October 1932.

[77] WILPF Congress Minutes, September 3, 1934. WILPFm I:D:8.

primary goal. Innes, who had been appointed Chairman of the Constitution Committee at this Congress, summed up the British Section's reasoning:[78]

> It seems to me that it would mean a turning aside if we worked first for a drastic change of the social and economic order. By doing so we should confuse a condition of things with a method of working, and it is an open question whether any given social order would mean peace. So far there are not many signs that it would. It is however not an open question that we stand for peace and against violence under whatever order exists. I want to emphasize that peace is a method and not a state and that under every system there will be causes for clash unless we remove the psychological causes. (qtd. in Bussey and Tims 121)

Conversely, the French and German Sections believed social transformation to be imperative: "social, economic and political equality for all without distinction of sex, race or opinion" should be the WILPF's first goal.[79] Peace and disarmament would follow if equality were truly realized. This difference in emphasis caused much friction amongst the 135 delegates attending the Congress, and despite Innes's plea for keeping to the spirit of their original aims,[80] delegates passed an amended version of the French/German proposal 92 votes to 6, with abstentions.

Six months after the defeat of Britain's proposals for Constitutional revision, the WIL Annual Council met in London. With Innes in the Chair, those still stinging from what they interpreted as rebuke by Congress expressed outrage over WILPF structure and policy. Dr. Hilda Clark, the Honourary Secretary, proposed a motion that would loosen the WIL's connection to International Headquarters. The WIL would no longer be the "'British Section of the W.I.L.P.F.' but the Women's International League' (British Group in correspondence with the W.I.L.P.F.)" (Anderson 2). Clark, along with Courtney and others, "believed ... that the difficulties already arising from the difference between the policy of the British Section and that of the International would be increased and felt it essential that the name of the British Section should not continue to be used as responsible for the International policy." Consultative members would still be sent to International Executive Meetings, and monies would still be paid to International Headquarters, but the WIL would not be a full-fledged section.

The Manchester branch hesitated over pulling away from the International Executive and proposed an amendment to Clark's motion that would mandate the WIL to contact other WILPF sections that felt similarly and to discuss with them possible plans for the WILPF's future. The Manchester Branch thought that the "International Executive

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[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] The British proposal for a "new" statement of aims differed only slightly from the original statement adopted in 1919.

may, for the moment, have been captured by extremists. But we should be disenfranchising ourselves if we accepted Dr. Clark's resolution" (2).

Innes liked neither proposal, so from the Chair, put forward her own amendment that she added to the Manchester proposal in order to simplify matters. She felt it necessary

> to put positively also the opposite point of view, that we ought to continue our full co-operation.... Those who believed that we ought to continue co-operation were sometimes accused of drift, or of a refusal to face the facts. It was not drift but an open-eyed acceptance of continuance, realising that several Sections differed in social and political outlook, but were united on the basic principles of working against war. (2)

The Manchester/Innes amendment passed 35 to 28. Fallout from the vote was swift in coming. Clark resigned the Honourary Secretaryship, Miss Chick resigned as Treasurer, and Courtney left the Executive altogether.[81]

Many rank and file as well as Executive members were grateful for Innes's strength to stand up for the International and to make a difficult motion which all knew would precipitate mass resignations. As Innes wrote to Emily Balch afterwards: "It was really horrid having to do it knowing the consequences."[82] Mosa Anderson, reporting the meeting in the Monthly News Sheet, noted that "Mrs. Innes, from the Chair, did not give us any opportunity of thanking her for the magnificent way in which she has carried the League through a difficult period of its history. She has added our indebtedness to her by nobly stepping into the breach caused by the resignations and assuming the arduous task of Hon. Secretaryship" (3). The position proved not to be simply a stopgap; she remained the Hon. Secretary for 12 years, until 1947.

From 1917 to 1934, Innes chose carefully the organizations she would actively support. Though she worked with most organizations lobbying for peace, the loyalty she felt to the WIL/WILPF grew out of her deep desire for women and "minorities" to be granted world-wide the same rights and privileges as men. The WIL took pride in its diversity of adherents--socialists, liberals, conservatives, Catholics, Anglicans, and atheists--it, therefore, maintained a strictly non-party and non-religious line. Innes, as a woman with a deep spiritual life as well, explored the spiritual side of her commitment to peace, internationalism, and human rights through the Society of Friends, which more than any other religious body collectively sympathized with these ideals.

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[81] Although she had resigned from the WIL Presidency in 1933, she had remained on the WIL Executive.

[82] Kathleen Innes to Emily Balch, February 11, 1935. WILPFm III:320.

Chapter 4
Peace Testimony, 1926-1936

> It is emphasized "that the Peace testimony of Friends is not merely an adjunct to their religious belief and practice but an integral part of them.... It has grown inevitably out of the Inward Light--the Divine Spirit in the souls of men--that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. That Spirit, the Spirit of Christ, which leads into all truth cannot, it is believed, if faithfully followed, lead members into hatred, revenge, deceit, cruelty, bloodshed, devastation, and all the host of evils bound up in war." That is a testimony of which the world to-day stands more sorely in need perhaps than in any period of history.... It is the fundamental position alone that can finally make possible, not merely the prevention of war but the full constructive developments of a world devoted to peace and human welfare.
>
> - "Quakers and Peace"

In Salonika and Corsica, Kathleen Innes had seen for the first time the passionate devotion of members of the Society of Friends to their social mission. The Church of England had not taken a united stand against the war. The Friends had. At their London Yearly Meeting in 1915, "which was very largely attended, it became clear that the Society would remain pacifist--more and more emphatically so as the war went on" (Greenwood 179). Pacifism, however, did not deter them from venturing onto the continent with humanitarian aid to civilians, and it was in relief camps that Innes first encountered their work. George Innes's continued involvement after 1918 with the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee and Kathleen's own affinity with Society of Friends' ideals led her seriously to consider becoming a Quaker. As a pacifist and humanitarian, she felt more at home spiritually and politically amongst Friends than amongst those of her own divided church. The fact that George Innes and many Women's International League colleagues were Quakers--Mosa Anderson, Edith Pye, Barbara Duncan Harris, and Hilda Clark to name only a few--supplied further incentive.[1]

Kathleen Innes became involved with the Friends in the late 1910s and by 1920 spread her time among them, the League of Nations Union, and the Women's International League (which employed her full-time).[2] But she did not become a Friend until the mid-twenties, probably around 1924 or so, after she and George moved back to the London area.

After George's partnership in the Lewes engineering firm ceased, the couple began looking for a house closer to London. They found one in the newly developed community of Welwyn Garden City (established 1920) just to the north. It had much to attract the couple. The Friends' Meeting House was only a beginning. According to the

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[1] WILPF Secretary in Geneva, Emily Balch also became a Quaker in the early 1920s. Though an American she joined the London Yearly Meeting preferring the unanimity of the British Friends over the divided American ones.

[2] Helena Swanwick to Emily Balch, March 23, 1920. WILPFm III:295.

principles set out by the Garden City Movement's founder Ebenezer Howard, communities were designed to sustain a maximum population of 30,000, to be surrounded by agricultural land, and to provide each house with a pleasant lot. The beautiful tree-lined streets and large neatly trimmed, immaculate park could not but appeal to Kathleen Innes who had loved the village of her youth, St. Mary Bourne. The 30- to 40-minute train ride into London provided ease of access to work in the city as well as the woodsy pleasures of country living.

George accepted a job as Organizer for the London Federation of League of Nations Unions in 1924, and the move put him closer to LNU headquarters at 43 Russell Square; it gave Kathleen easier access to the WIL offices on 55 Gower Street. And each was within less than a fifteen-minute walk from Friends' House on Euston Road. Kathleen Innes took full advantage of this proximity to increase her collaboration with the Friends.

The Society of Friends' Peace Committee (SFPC) and the Slavery and Protection of Native Races Committee (SPNRC)--the two committees that interested Innes most of all--availed themselves of "her wide experience" and "able and devoted service" almost immediately upon her becoming a Friend.[3] In December of 1925, the SFPC approached her about a letter received from the Women's International League, advising them of "an attempt that is being made to get together a group of people interested in the League of Nations who would study particular aspects of the League's work, attend the 7th Assembly, and then act as educators in their own organizations. We are asked to appoint two or three of our members to this group."[4] Of course, Innes--who with her husband led these Assembly tours and sat, at the time, on the WIL Executive Committee--was a logical choice to promote the idea amongst Friends across the country. So, in January 1926, she collaborated with Arthur Guy Enock and Bertram Pickard (SFPC Secretary) to draft "a letter to The Friend and to Peace Correspondents drawing attention to the value of attending the League Assemblies."[5]

That was only a beginning to her association with the SFPC. When Bertram Pickard was co-opted for work in Geneva, a committee was formed "to confer with Kathleen Innes with a view to her acceptance of the Secretaryship of the Peace Committee for a period of two years."[6] The position was an important one. The Peace Committee, which reported to the Friends' main business meeting, the London Yearly Meeting, had a mandate to direct the peace work of Friends throughout the country. She accepted the position and its £300/year salary believing at the time that it would be temporary. Ten years later, at the age of 53, she stepped down, having successfully negotiated all those "years of

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[3] SFPC Minutes, September 4, 1936.

[4] SFPC Minutes, December 3, 1925.

[5] SFPC Minutes, January 7, 1926. Peace Correspondents were liaisons between the London Yearly Meeting's Peace Committee and the local Society of Friends Meetings all across the country.

[6] SFPC Minutes, March 4, 1926. This committee consisted in Hilda Clark, Carl Heath, E. Roy Calvert, and Francis Pollard.

difficulty and crisis in public affairs" from 1926 to 1936.[7] As one historian noted: "It was in the mid-30s that Secretaries Kathleen E. Innes and Karlin Kapper-Johnson [her successor] steered the Friends into a fresh examination of principles and vigorous new propaganda" (Berkman 249). Innes saw the SFPC through the heady days of the 1920s with the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact in 1928 and Britain's final acceptance in 1929 of the Permanent Court's Optional Clause (for which the Peacemaker's Pilgrimage had pressed in 1926) up to the opening of the 1932 World Disarmament Conference. She saw the SFPC through the equally disappointing low points of the 1930s, when 1920s optimism gave way to gloom and desperation with the Manchurian dispute of 1931/32, Hitler's rise to power and Germany's and Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933, the Stalinist purges in Russia beginning in 1934, Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia in 1935, and the beginning of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. None of these incidents shook Innes's belief that only total disarmament could provide the necessary atmosphere in which peaceful relations among nations could prosper.[8]

Innes's acceptance of the SFPC Secretaryship profited both the committee and her. The SFPC acquired new access to an extensive network of women's, educational, religious, and political groups; social reform organizations; and relief agencies throughout Europe. Innes herself gained a new level of authority, as SFPC Secretary, in her dealings with these groups as well as membership in several more societies--the Northern Friends Peace Board and the Executive Committee of the National Peace Council (NPC), an umbrella group which co-ordinated the activities of Britain's many peace societies.[9] She also applied for membership in the Royal Institute of International Affairs.[10]

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> How can women, who are not allowed by convention and domestic claims to concentrate for any lengthy period, achieve great things?
>
> - Hampshire Pilgrimages

Unlike most forty-three year old married women in the late 1920s, Innes was not saddled with domestic responsibilities. Child-care made no claims on her time. Nor did she and George regularly throw and attend fashionable dinner parties and other social events of the sort so vividly described in the writings of Virginia Woolf, Katherine Mansfield, and Rose Macaulay. When at home in the evenings and on weekends, Innes set aside time for herself relatively free of the interruptions that prevented so many women of her generation from "achieving great things." She had what Virginia Woolf argued that women

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[7] SFPC Minutes, September 4, 1936.

[8] Not even the Second World War dissuaded her from believing this. As she wrote to Gertrud Baer in 1941: "The whole desperate tangle seems to me to confirm the pacifist point of view" (December 22, 1941; EGB).

[9] SFPC Minutes September 30, 1926 and July 2, 1936; National Peace Council, Executive Committee Minutes, e.g., June 15, 1926, BLPES.

[10] SFPC Minutes, July 1, 1926.

writers needed most of all: money and a room of her own.[11]

Throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s, the government, the popular press, and even women's groups themselves (including the WIL) took an interest in the question of whether housekeeping should be considered a profession (Pugh 84-85). While some leftists (e.g., Susan Lawrence, Mrs. Pember Reeves, Marion Phillips) wanted legislation to ensure women minimum wages and a maximum work-week,[12] conservatives (e.g. Lady Londonderry) argued that the government should not legislate on the issue (84). Women's magazines such as Woman and Home, My Home, Modern Woman, and Good Housekeeping all promoted among middle- and working-class women the idea of household management as an honourable profession (85). Good Housekeeping even tried to widen its appeal to a feminist audience by running articles by Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Rebecca West, Lady Rhondda (founder of the feminist periodical Time and Tide), and Ellen Wilkinson.

While domestic issues "continued to carry women towards the top of the political agenda" (103), many women used their spot in the public eye to draw attention to peace, disarmament, and League of Nations affairs (103). Uninterested in taking up housekeeping as a profession, Innes spent her days in committee meetings and at rallies, and her evenings either giving public lectures or reading and writing. Until the 1940s, her reading consisted primarily in literature and books dealing with international affairs. From 1926 to 1934 alone, she published over 25 book reviews and articles in the Quaker journals The Friend, The Wayfarer, and The World Outlook. She also sat on the publication board of the latter from 1926 to 1930.

Her first review, "From a Bygone Age," an evaluation of A.S. Turberville's English Men and Manners of the Eighteenth Century, typified Innes's astute observations on attitudes toward women and on literature's social significance. She noted that the author devotes far more time to "the politicians, soldiers and admirals, and too little to the authors both of poetry and prose" (1115). This was unfortunate because "From Pope's Rape of the Lock alone, more can be learnt about eighteenth century manners, with its revelation of cynicism underlying superficial gallantry in the attitude to women, than in volumes of records of military and naval achievements" (1115). Pope's poem, rife with militaristic metaphors, exposes the Baron's ultimate lack of respect for Belinda in his scheme to obtain a lock of her hair as a trophy. The narrator's protest that "This lock, the Muse shall consecrate to fame, / And midst the stars inscribe Belinda's name!"[13] did not, on Innes's reading, mitigate the Baron's actions, for the lock was obtained through cunning and treachery. Trust and respect played as central a function in international relations as they did in personal

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[11] Virginia Woolf, A Room of One's Own 107.

[12] The WILPF Congress of 1919 passed a resolution calling for the endowment of motherhood: "Since women who are mothers, [sic] perform a service of supreme importance to the state and have in the past been reduced to economic dependence by reason of the very service they have rendered, some scheme for the endowment of motherhood by the state, not dependent upon the poverty of the mother, is both just in principle and necessary to secure the status as free citizens" (WILPFm I:H:3).

[13] Pope, Rape of the Lock Canto 5, l.149-150.

relationships; without them, true peace would be impossible, thought Innes.

She followed this review with many more covering social and religious history, histories of suffrage and peace movements, and collections of historical documents,[14] and she reviewed biographies of Mahatma Gandhi, Rachel McMillan, Alfred Nobel, and Florence Nightingale. Rosamund Dale Owens's autobiography, My Perilous Life in Palestine (1927), must have intrigued Innes in part because of her brother George's extended residence in the Middle East, and Fridtjof Nansen's travel book, Through the Caucasus to the Volga (1931), also caught her eye. On one of her many trips to Geneva, Innes met Nansen, the 1922 Nobel Peace Laureate and first League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the photograph which he gave her became one of her most prized possessions.[15] Like Emily Balch and many other WILPF members, Innes deeply admired Nansen, "the conscience of the League of Nations" (Randall 289), and was moved upon his death to write a short biography, The Story of Nansen and the League of Nations (1931) published by the SFPC. In addition to the book reviews in Quaker journals and her book on Nansen, Innes brought out more than a dozen articles as well as several pamphlets and edited collections under Friends' auspices.

One of these articles, "War Novels and Peace," plunged directly into one of the difficult questions raised by the appearance of graphic war novels: will they help or harm the peace movement? In the late 1920s and early 1930s, many memoirs and novels of the First World War appeared as soldiers and non-combatants alike came to terms with their experiences. Innes read books and plays such as Remarque's All Quiet on the Western Front, Renn's War, Sherriff's play Journey's End, Tomlinson's All Our Yesterdays, Bartlett's No Man's Land, and Stefan Zweig's The Case of Sergeant Grischa before forming her own opinion on the use of war books in peace campaigning. Innes did not favour censorship:

> Those who take a morbid pleasure in reading war-books should look for the fault neither in the facts nor in the books, but in themselves. That there are many unhealthy minds who take such pleasure is highly probable, but this is not sufficient reason for censoring a book which gives a true picture, and

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[14] "As Others See Us" (December 1926), a review of Sociales Christentum in England, Geschichte und Gedankenwelt der Copec-Bewegung by Justus Ferdinand Laun; "Quakers and Peace" (November 1927), a review of a book by the same name edited by G.W. Knowles; "A Mine of Information" (November 1928), a review of C. Howard Ellis's Origin, Structure, and Working of the League of Nations; "The Soviet and Peace" (August 1929), a review of an edited collection of historical documents introduced by Henri Barbusse; "The Suffragette Movement" (March 1931), a review of Sylvia Pankhurst's book by the same name; "Progress Towards Peace" (April 1931), a review of A.C.F. Beales's The History of Peace.

[15] Andover Advertiser March 7, 1941: 1. The Women's Institute held a meeting to which "Each member had been asked to bring with her something she treasured." One woman brought an antique nutmeg grinder, another a wedding veil "which has been worn by the brides in her family for over 100 years," another a book received from a close friend, and Innes the picture given her by Nansen.

> which may stimulate other minds (and I believe the majority) to a sane and healthy condemnation of the war method. (51)

She argued that "A sense of the stupidity of war does not make pacifists, but it does make people more ready to organise to avoid war, and to accept alternatives for settling disputes which are worthier of reasonable beings" (50). Innes hoped that something good would come of writers' attention to war if readers were encouraged to see "the utter futility of such waste and destruction" (50).

Innes's writing did not always end up in print. From 1926 to 1936, during her tenure as SFPC Secretary, she gave dozens of lectures to Quaker audiences promoting the Quaker peace testimony. In 1926, she travelled to Friends' Meeting Houses throughout England giving addresses on "The Bible as Literature." She also lectured on radio to schoolchildren in the summer of 1929 on the same subject--probably as part of the BBC program, "Broadcast to Schools."[16] Unfortunately, her lecture notes have not survived.

Someone from Jonathan Cape must have heard the radio broadcasts, however, because they asked her permission to publish them in book form as The Bible as Literature.[17] Leonard Woolf, as Innes's principal publisher, objected to Cape's request and complained to Innes that larger publishers often tried to snatch away successful writers after smaller presses had helped "make" their careers in the first place.[18] Innes told Woolf that her book would not be "the 'literary' kind of thing you would publish"[19] and added that Cape "evidently made [their offer] on the 'broadcasts,' & did not know I had done other writing."[20]

The last thing Innes wanted to do was alienate Woolf, her primary publisher and LNU ally. She, therefore, agreed to sign a contract with Hogarth for The Reign of Law (1929) giving them the right of first refusal of her books, in spite of advice she received against this: "As a matter of interest ... not long ago I was asked to join an Authors' Society, & one of the pieces of advice they urged strongly, on the subject of agreements was never to sign one with that [right of first refusal] clause in. So there are evidently two points of view!" (June 11, 1929; HP 191). Woolf, on behalf of Hogarth, kept his end of the bargain and gave Innes permission to go ahead with Cape's offer. The Bible as Literature, with its Foreword by her National Peace Council colleague Rev. F.W. Norwood, was published in 1930.

Friends had, since the early days of their sect, treated the Bible as a living text open to "continuous as opposed to closed revelation" (Wright 35). This "provoked storms" of controversy, especially from Calvinists who looked to the Bible as the ultimate authority in questions of belief. Seventeenth-century Friends advocated individual

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[16] Kathleen Innes to Leonard Woolf, June 5, 1929, HP 191; The Bible as Literature 11. For a description of the BBC series on which Innes would have lectured see The Listener July 24, 1929: 133.

[17] Kathleen Innes to Leonard Woolf, June 5, 1929. HP 191.

[18] Leonard Woolf to Kathleen Innes, June 10, 1929. HP 191.

[19] Kathleen Innes to Leonard Woolf, June 5, 1929. HP 191.

[20] Kathleen Innes to Leonard Woolf, June 11, 1929. HP 191.

spiritual revelation, arguing that the ability to interpret belonged to anyone "willing to submit to the same power by which the biblical writers had in ages past been inspired" (Wright 35). In other words, biblical interpretation did not belong solely to exegetes. But early Friends, like other Christians, still treated the Scriptures as sacred texts. Only in the latter half of the eighteenth century did literary analysis creep into Biblical criticism.

Just as Friends riled their contemporaries with their "heresy," so did literary critics. Noted writers, among them Laurence Sterne, had wanted to keep religion separate from literature lest devotion be corrupted and ears be "stopped ... against the voice of the charmer" (qtd in Norton 53). Others, with James Boswell, believed that appreciating the Bible's literary merits would persuade "those who have any genuine taste ... to admire it exceedingly and so by degrees have a due value for the oracles of God" (qtd in Norton 54).

By the nineteenth century, with the appearance of the Revised Edition of the Bible in English, critics turned their attention with increasing frequency to literary analysis.[21] Matthew Arnold, first to use the phrase "the Bible as Literature," thought that "the Bible can be read without being read as religion" (Norton 272, 275). The 1899 publication of the essay-collection, The Bible as Literature, that began to popularize Arnold's catch-phrase contained a piece by literary critic Richard Green Moulton, who holds a special place in literary criticism for being, as David Norton says, "a structuralist before his time" (Norton 277). He produced one of (if not) the earliest thorough-going formalist analysis of a text--The Literary Study of the Bible (1895)--years before the promotion of scientistic approaches to literature in the 1910s and 1920s.

By the early twentieth century, then, literary analysis of the Bible was not new. And Innes's decision to combine her literary training from London University with spiritual and historical interests seemed the natural course to take. Yet even as late as the 1920s, analyzing the Bible as a literary text apparently still required defence, for Innes felt compelled to explain that her approach to the sacred text should not in itself detract from the Bible's "proper" appreciation. Like Boswell, she argued: "we must be prepared to appreciate and enjoy it for its own sake and for its literary qualities; and analysis of these, if the work considered is worthy of enjoyment, can only add to our appreciation."[22]

She drew upon works as diverse as Richard Green Moulton's morphological and "structuralist" analyses of literary form, W. Robertson Smith's historical studies, and Canon S.R. Driver's methodical exegesis. Yet she engaged in a critical project all of her own devising, unique in both organization and content. First of all, she made no pretence of treating all books of the Bible and Apocrypha, yet reviewers roundly criticized her for various "disappointing" and "unaccountable omissions"; she analyzed books of special interest for

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[21] Revision of the Bible generated heated debate in the late nineteenth century; historical accuracy was generally pitted against the aesthetic value of the King James Version's Biblical English (See e.g., Norton 218-225, 272).

[22] The Bible as Literature 18. Further references to this book will appear in the text abbreviated "BL."

their literary qualities or for the light they shed on current events.[23] Secondly, she chose to balance discussions of Biblical men and women. This greatly alarmed the Times Literary Supplement critic who complained bitterly that "she does not include the thrilling stories of David and Moses, surely far more interesting in the 'human' sense than those of Ruth and Esther."[24]

Her lectures and subsequent book weighed heavily on concerns immediately relevant to the political climate of the 1920s and 1930s. Moderation and tolerance, nationalism and patriotism, representations of women, and attitudes to war and peace figure prominently in her critique. Since her views on these four subjects played such a central role in her activism, they are worth developing here.

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> [T]here was no place in his philosophy for martyrs or fanatics. Even righteousness must be pursued only in moderation.
> - The Bible as Literature

One month after taking up Secretaryship of the Peace Committee, Innes spoke on "Ecclesiastes: A Study of Pessimism" at the Friends Meeting House in Letchworth. She regarded Koheleth, the book's narrator, as someone not to emulate, but to understand. Following Moulton, she believed Koheleth to be a pessimist because he "longs to discover whether life is worth while, or whether since death levels all, it is one supreme irony," and, she added, "there is no means of discovering" (BL 145). Koheleth found only "the lack of an aim [for humanity] and the absence of any proof of a just God" (146).

Having been through a world war not so long before, Innes understood the motivation for Koheleth's melancholia. However, she had faith in the existence of a just God. As a Friend, she believed "that a spark of divine essence"--an inner Light--"dwells in each human being" (Wright 7). Koheleth, she told her audience, could not see that his quest for happiness ended before he considered this possibility--in other words, "the possibility of happiness which can rest superior to misfortune and unhappy surroundings, a state of blessedness dependent on inner convictions and inner resources" (BL 153).

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[23] Review of The Bible as Literature in The Friend. J.S.H. wrote:

> She is disappointingly inadequate in regard to the New Testament literature, especially the writings of St. Luke (has not his Gospel been justly named "the most beautiful book in the world"?) She calls St. Paul's mind 'logical'--one can imagine how strenuously the great missionary and mystic would have rebutted such an insinuation! She unaccountably omits, from her capable analysis of the twelve main answers to the Problem of Pain worked out by the Jews, the greatest of them all, Job's inspired affirmation, "I know that my Redeemer liveth; though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him." ... It is disappointing, however that she gives so little attention ... to the greatest internationalist pamphlet in all literature, the Book of Jonah.

[24] Times Literary Supplement November 6, 1930: 922.

If the narrator of Ecclesiastes did not see beyond the material world, the narrator of the Apocryphal "Book of Wisdom of Solomon" did. Innes explained how, again in a manner consistent with her Quaker belief. The Wisdom writer "dwells on his common human birth, 'for all men have one entrance into life, and a like departure'; but more than to other men, in response to prayer, there was given to him understanding and a 'spirit of wisdom' [that] ... raised him to friendship with God" (164). He believed in "individual immortality" for the righteous and achieved happiness because he found faith in a divine presence. Innes too had found happiness through her faith; further, believing that a divine presence resided within each individual, she held optimistic--even idealistic--views about humanity. As one of her friends recalled, so strongly did Innes believe in the essential goodness of humanity that she held out hope to the very end of Britain's "neutrality" that the Second World War might be averted.

Innes's assessment of Koheleth and the Wisdom writer reflected her own sense of moderation and balance. "Even righteousness must be pursued only in moderation. 'Be righteous,' he [Koheleth] says, and adds with a touch of humorous cynicism, 'but not overmuch. Why shouldst thou destroy thyself?'" (BL 152-3). The First World War had shown that the overinflated self-righteousness displayed by all countries fed hostilities. Neither the "wise men"[25] nor Innes saw any place for martyrs and fanatics. She did not picture herself as a martyr to a cause--though she spent well over 50 years as a peace and human rights activist. There was a difference, she believed, between fanaticism and devotion. That difference lay in the rigidity or flexibility of one's views. Fanaticism led to narrow-mindedness and foreclosed discussion; moderation led to openness and encouraged discussion. Innes, in a sense, spent her life trying to mitigate the polarizing effects of martyrs' actions and fanatics' views.

Like the Biblical "wise men" whom she admired for "their lack of emotional qualities [which] rule[d] out violent nationalism," Innes strongly favoured "intellectual appeals [that] cut across national boundaries" while allowing for "an ardent belief in the mission ... [or culture of their] people" (BL 167). Innes's work with the Women's International League and League of Nations Union demonstrated her commitment to internationalism and eschewal of violent nationalism. Her time spent with the Serbian refugees gave her a sense of the importance of preserving culture and traditions, especially amongst those in exile. Her understanding of the problems in Palestine among Arabs and Jews in the 1920s gave her to realize the complexities of dealing with competing nationalisms. She was convinced that the moderation and tolerance of all nations and cultural groups would be humanity's saving grace. In practical terms, the League of Nations stood as both symbol and working tool of tolerance in international relations, and it could only achieve its fullest potential if "all the nations ... become members" (How the LON Works 61).

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[25] --those who wrote Proverbs, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus (the Wisdom of Sirach)--

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> Besides the desire to explain what they see around them, another very common source of inspiration for the tales of primitive peoples is the desire to glorify, or at least preserve and show in the best light, their own racial and national history.
>
> - The Bible as Literature

The world war demonstrated to Innes and countless others the destruction that came of violent nationalism. She, therefore, looked for examples, on the one hand, of nationalism run riot and, on the other, of tolerant nationalism arising from pride rather than bigotry. According to Innes's own philosophy, cultures and races need not give up entirely their traditions and beliefs in order to co-operate in the international arena. They would, however, have to surrender something: a firm belief in their own "individual and national righteousness" in the eyes of God (BL 209). This would take considerable effort to accomplish, because not all people could see their own faults as easily as they could see the faults of others. So, for the benefit of her English audience, Innes gave an example from British history (connecting it to Hebrew history) that demonstrated her point:

> God's parting of the Red Sea meant to the Hebrews the direct intervention of God whose right hand dashed the enemy in pieces that Israel might triumph.... The sea overwhelmed the Egyptians because God 'blew with his wind.' We may remember that these words were borrowed from this song in 1588 by Queen Elizabeth for the medal cast to celebrate the scattering of the Spanish Armada and our own national triumph. The tendency to revert to a purely national outlook in the attitude towards the Deity reappears in all nations even to-day in time of war. (BL 68)

She must have remembered back to the First World War when, on the one hand, Britons expressed moral outrage that Germany "with the word of God on her lips ... acts as if in the full belief that she is the chosen people with a right to a larger 'piece of the sun' than any other, and an indulgence granted to her by God to commit any crimes which may assist her to win that place."[26] Yet, on the other hand, Britons felt themselves perfectly justified, as Kipling did in "Hymn Before Action" (1896), to call out "Ere yet we draw the blade / Jehovah of the Thunders, / Lord God of Battles, aid!" (5-7). It was, perhaps, no coincidence that Pilgrim's Progress was popular during the war.

Innes urged her audiences not to listen to appeals to God for justification of violence because they have time and again prompted massive destruction and encouraged vengeance. The Book of Esther, which Innes described as "an expression of the most violent nationalism, pagan in its intensity and desire for revenge" (BL 32), illustrated her point. The story recounts the heroism of Esther, a Jew who became wife of Ahasuerus, ruler of lands from India to Ethiopia. During Ahasuerus's reign, a decree went out that all Jews in the kingdom were to be executed. Esther, who had hidden her racial identity from Ahasuerus,

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[26] Times Educational Supplement September 1, 1914: 149.

learned of the plan through her uncle Mordecai and exposed its originator, Haman, whom the king hanged. The king rewarded Mordecai with Haman's position as head of the cabinet. And as one of his first acts--in a manner not unlike Haman's--Mordecai then decreed in the king's name:

> the Jews which were in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their life, to destroy, to slay, and to cause to perish, all the power of the people and province that would assault them, both little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. (Esther 8:11)

The Jews slaughtered 75,000 people and then feasted in celebration of their freedom. As Innes saw it, the book of Esther "owes its place in the canon to its reputed explanation of the Feast of Purim, but it contains much that is repugnant to modern taste" (BL 32).

She categorized the Jews in Esther as "bigoted" nationalists. At first glance, the comment seems to betray a deplorably anti-Semitic attitude, but understood within the contexts of the event which occasioned the remark and her overall abhorrence of violence, it becomes evident that the indictment was neither racially motivated nor intended to refer to all Jews. Innes, always one to choose her words cautiously, uttered the judgment as a pacifist and internationalist. She condemned violent xenophobia in the Bible just as she condemned it in her own time: "I have no doubt the Poles are persecuting & causing the increase of the violent nationalism they set out to suppress," she wrote in 1938, "& we do condemn the suppression, as well as the nationalism."[27] Nor was she shy about criticizing colleagues whom she felt were overtaken with "strong--or rather violent!--anti-Fascism."[28] She could sympathize with the sentiment but not the lengths some sections seemed prepared to go to fight Fascism.

In contrast to Esther, the Book of Ruth related "a lesson of tolerance to bigoted nationalism among the Jewish people" (BL 32). Innes took inspiration from Ruth's steadfast dedication to her mother-in-law, Naomi and found much to applaud in this tale of loyalty. The women's caring relationship symbolized the possibilities of tolerance among cultures and illustrated how the development of an internationalist spirit most fruitfully begins at a personal level. The significance of the relationship blossoming between two women would not have been lost on Innes either.

The books of the Old Testament, she explained, show how "The Hebrews were a particularly self-conscious race, and this is the main motive of story after story" (21). They document an important era in Jewish history--the "establishment of the historic mission of the Jewish people, as the channel for the unfolding revelation of the moral purpose for the world, of the one true God" (38). And for this reason, she observed, early Hebrew literature, "which merges into the theory of national, and finally world history, ... is the great contribution of the Jewish race to the progress of human thought" (20). Nationalism and patriotism were not thoroughly incompatible with Innes's conception of

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[27] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, May 23, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

[28] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, November 10, 1938. WILPFm I:A:67.

internationalism, rather they formed an important component of what made true internationalism so exciting and diverse. They only became dangerous when they led citizens blindly down the road of bigotry.

Innes joined with Helena Swanwick, Virginia Woolf, and other women to redefine "patriotism" as a spirit compatible with that of internationalism. Swanwick admitted in her autobiography to feeling "intensely and patriotically English" but explained that "that was one reason why so many of our less respectable deeds filled me with shame" (I Have Been Young 264). In Woolf's terms, Swanwick's reason dictated her internationalist response, her emotional attachment to England caused her "to give to England first what she desires of peace and freedom for the whole world" (Three Guineas 125). According to Innes, internationalism was based upon a "sense of individual responsibility and worth" and a "constructive effort ... [to] enter into the lives of others, whether those of another class in the same nation or of members of another nation." It would be "the inevitable outcome of sympathetic understanding, and not merely a matter of intellectual assent."[29] In the 1930s, this message was particularly important in the face of a rising tide of Fascism and Nazism in Europe.

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> One of the longer poems [in Proverbs] ... portrays the virtues of the writer's ideal woman.... It would be an interesting exercise to make a character study from Proverbs of the "wise men's" ideal man.
>
> - The Bible as Literature

Women have been interpreting the Bible for centuries.[30] Innes scrutinized Biblical and Apocryphal representations of women with a vigour which rivalled American Elizabeth Cady Stanton's The Woman's Bible about thirty years previously.[31] Both women discussed Esther, Ruth, the "Virtuous Woman" of Proverbs, and numerous other favourable and unfavourable portrayals of women; and both women's criticism revealed the influences of their political activism.

Stanton's involvement in the Temperance movement drew her attention to one commentator's assertion that "the Talmud states that in the feast of Purim a man may drink until he knows not the difference between 'cursed be Haman' and 'blessed be Mordecai'" (Stanton 90). Stanton found this "not so objectionable" as it first appears, so long as people "drink the wine of good fellowship until all feelings of vengeance, hatred and malice are banished from the human soul" (90). Innes too remained sensitive throughout her life to temperance issues, having grown up in a family of teetotallers and Temperance advocates;[32]

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[29] Kathleen Innes to Emily Balch, July 21, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.

[30] See especially Patricia Demers's Women as Interpreters of the Bible.

[31] My thanks to Patricia Demers for bringing this work to my attention.

[32] Royds, Interview; Kathleen Innes to the editor, Andover Advertiser December 25, 1953: 4.

however, her pacifism held more sway in the 1920s and 1930s, focusing her attention on the Feast of Purim's origin.

Stanton and Innes agreed on the strength of character of both Vashti (King Ahasuerus's first wife) and Esther. Vashti had publicly refused her husband's bidding and was banished. As Innes said, "the penalty she pays for disobedience makes one more conscious of the risks Esther is running as the story unfolds" (BL 33). A strong will and developed intellect did not produce immediate obeisance to frivolous orders (50). Both Vashti and Esther were powerful women who demonstrated independence of thought. Vashti, especially, became popular amongst the militant suffragettes in the Women's Freedom League, who depicted her on a banner for the June 13, 1908 suffrage rally to London's Albert Hall (Tickner 84).

About Ruth's character, Stanton and Innes again agreed, but they clearly parted company over the description of the "Virtuous Woman." The "Wise Man" responsible for her description elicited Stanton's approval: "the idea of a wise woman, a good mother, a prudent wife, a saving housekeeper and a successful merchant, will be found in the foregoing texts, which every woman who reads should have printed, framed and hung up at her family altar" (Stanton 98). Innes, writing thirty years later, did not so enthusiastically embrace the characterization--not that she fundamentally disagreed with the concept of a responsible wife and mother, but she did question its motivation and origin. Pondering what the writer's conception of an ideal man might be she declared:

> We suspect that the result, curiously enough, would not be nearly as 'perfectly' ideal as the character which the male writer draws for his ideal woman. There would be a good deal more of everyday shrewdness in it, and the reasons which would emerge for his virtues would not be so disinterested! An interesting comparison, however, is the picture of 'famous men' in the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus (xliv, Iff.). (BL 101)

This assessment is fascinating for a number of reasons. First of all, it showed Innes to be a confident, independent critic. S.R. Driver and R.G. Moulton, whom she drew on elsewhere in her study, saw no reason to pay special attention to the "Virtuous Woman" passage. Secondly, in the passage from Ecclesiasticus she clearly took "men" to refer to "males" not to "humanity" as Vera Brittain must have done when placing an excerpt on the frontispiece of Testament of Youth (1933). Thirdly, it did not matter to Innes that the "Virtuous Woman" passage contained "the prophecy that his [King Lemuel's] mother taught him" (Proverbs 31:1); the passage had still been written by a man.

Feminism elicited in her a sensitivity to discrimination "justified" or explained away by nationalism, patriotism, and male superiority. It translated, for example, into her demand of the Rt. Hon. Earl Peel in July 1936 that a woman be appointed to the special Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Causes of Unrest in Palestine. Wrote Innes on behalf of the Women's International League:

> The reason as reported [for not appointing a woman] is that such an appointment might be so incompatible with Arab ideas that it might impede the Commission in the prosecution of its enquiries and might also upset the strictly orthodox Jews. The

> Women's International League feel, on the contrary, very strongly that a suitable woman should be appointed in view of this prejudice, in order to give Arab (and Jewish) women direct access to the Commission, and opportunity to put forward their views as women, to one of their own sex. They therefore hope, either that the report is incorrect, or that the question of appointing a woman on the Commission will be reconsidered and an appointment made.[33]

Precisely because of the existent prejudice against women, Innes argued, a woman must be appointed to challenge that prejudice, and to give already "voiceless" women a chance to be heard. Especially where peace negotiations were concerned, women should have a place on the negotiating team since the outcome would certainly be no less important for them than for men.

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> The lesson they [the prophets] teach is that the price of peace--which must be paid if we would have peace--is individual and national righteousness.
>
> - The Bible as Literature

Three and a half years after her first speech to Friends in Letchworth on Ecclesiastes, Innes returned to speak on "The Teaching of the Hebrew Prophets: (1) On Peace and Patriotism." Two months later, in April 1930, she spoke on "Peace: The Teaching of the Prophets" at her own meeting house in Welwyn Garden City. These lectures probably formed the basis for her two chapters on the prophets in The Bible as Literature. One of these, "The Prophets on War and Peace," marked a new form of Biblical critique: she brought both literary and social criticism to bear on ancient texts in order to examine their lessons for the modern world.

As both literary scholar and historian, she held the view that, in the words of a late twentieth-century critic, "Literature acts upon the world by acting upon its readers" (Schweickart 24). Understanding the past through literature and history placed one in a better position to make decisions about the future. The prophets may not have condemned war, she said, but they did "albeit unconsciously, [begin] the movement for its abolition" (BL 195). For this reason alone, she told listeners, "the teaching of the Prophets ... is of such special interest to the modern world, that it is deserving of special study" (193).

From the slightly raised speaker's platform at the front of the sparsely furnished meeting room, Innes told her Letchworth audience that the prophets "were little, if at all, in advance of the general attitude of their time, and to read into their attitudes the modern, moral condemnation which is widespread to-day, would be unjustifiable" (193). They saw wars as punishment of the wicked or "the vengeance of God on the guilty" (197) and peace as "the reward for righteousness" (201). They, therefore, believed that victors could rightly claim that God was on their side--namely, "the side of righteousness" (193). However, Innes hastened to point out, "... there is a clear difference between

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[33] Kathleen Innes to the Rt. Hon. Earl Peel and to the Press, July 22, 1936. WILPFm III:320.

their claim, and the cruder claim, so casually made by nations in time of war, that righteousness is on the side of their war" (194). That difference lay in the fact that "The prophets did not claim right for their own nation in strife. They saw clearly enough that warfare, looking at it from a detached standpoint, was the result of wrong-doing, and they realised it therefore as an inevitable penalty of sin" (194).

But did not the righteousness resulting from victory or from the observation of another's loss lead to exaggerated nationalism? Not always, but in the case of one minor prophet, it very nearly did, Innes admitted. Nahum described the fall of Ninevah in "fiercely nationalistic" terms (198) and very clearly depicted those of Ninevah as enemies of God and, thus, of all faithful Jews: "And the Lord hath given a commandment concerning thee that no more of thy name be sown: out of thy house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image: I will make thy grave: for thou art vile" (Nahum 1:14). "But," Innes continued, "if, sometimes, their patriotism appears narrow, it is never blind, or foolish, in the sense that they made the mistake of thinking it unpatriotic to see the faults of the people they loved" (BL 199).

At this point in the lecture, Innes's listeners would have harkened back to the early war years when patriotism in England ran high and to be pacifist was by definition to be "unpatriotic" and a "sinner," as May Sinclair baldly put it. Innes's audience remembered the censure of those who did not support England's entry into the war. Innes had maintained in 1914 as she did in 1930 before her Letchworth audience that patriotism and opposition to war were not mutually exclusive, and that those who sought to justify that position by appealing to the prophets did not understand their teachings:

> A large part of their prophecy consists of unflinching and vigorous condemnation of their peoples' wickednesses, and 'my country right or wrong' would have horrified the prophets, as indeed it should horrify any one with decent moral standards. (199)

She preached that patriotism did not provide citizens with satisfactory justification for morally reprehensible actions. Indeed, there could be none.

Innes probably ended her speeches to Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City Friends with remarks about "modern day" applications of the prophets' writings. The prophets hinted at "the sanctity of all human life, which is the most fundamental argument against war through all time," and they prompted her to ponder "the real cause of war" (209), a question she directly addressed in the introduction to The Prevention of War, published by the SFPC in 1932. Whatever the prophets' insights, she argued, the particulars were of only limited use in a world "so entirely different ... from when they wrote."

> To-day our political relations are highly developed and organised. They necessitate complicated organisations: treaties of arbitration, the working out of a machinery for peaceful settlement, which was, of course, undreamt of in the early days of the world's history, but which to-day, is of great importance. We may--and I think to-day, must--admit the necessity for all this, if we earnestly desire peace; but we must also turn again to the eternal principles enunciated by

> the prophets... The lesson they teach is that the price of peace--which must be paid if we would have peace--is individual and national righteousness. (BL 209)

Innes knew that peace would only come at a cost but that it was within people's power to make the necessary sacrifice.[34] She had seen small sacrifices in this direction when sixty-five nations signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing war "as an instrument on national policy" (qtd in Innes, "Kellogg and the Covenant") and when the British Government signed the Permanent Court's Optional Clause.

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> ... people must be ready to pay the price of peace, and to remedy things that are unjust, even if it means giving up something they themselves claim. This is perhaps the lesson the peoples of the world, who desire peace, most need to learn.
> - Peace-making in Africa

If peace came at a cost, so did justice, the basis of peace. And one area in which Britain particularly lacked a sense of "fairplay" was in its dealings with the colonies and League-mandated territories. Relinquishing claims of individual and national righteousness meant, among other things, to Innes, the necessity to recognize the basic humanity of non-white races. She shared with other white leftists in Britain the belief that their Government had "to tackle more directly the issues surrounding racial discrimination and economic exploitation in the colonial sphere, especially Africa" (Rich 70).

At the same time as disarmament and peace activism gained prominence in the 1920s and 1930s, so did colonial issues. One reason for this was the presence in Britain of Black intellectuals--including George Padmore, who collaborated with Nancy Cunard on the anthology Negro, and Jomo Kenyatta, who later became Prime Minister of Kenya--who called for Britain to revise its colonial policies. A second reason was the vocal dissatisfaction of former government service employees who had spent time in colonial administration. This group--which included Norman Leys, Sidney Olivier, William McGregor Ross, and Leonard Woolf--called for changes to the way Britain administered its colonies and Mandated territories.[35] White anti-imperialists like Olivier and Woolf, apparently seeing the connection between militarism and colonialism, were also advocates of disarmament.

The improvement of Great Britain's reputation required substantial work among the colonies by the 1920s, and Innes believed that her country needed to gain the trust and respect of former colonies if it

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[34] She made this point forcefully and often. See, for example, The Reign of Law (1929), The Prevention of War (1932), and Peace-making in Africa (1933?).

[35] These were territories that had been part of the German or Ottoman Empires before the First World War but whose administration was handed over by the League of Nations to various of the Allied Powers. The Mandate holders were responsible for the administration, welfare, and security of the Mandates until such a time as they were deemed ready for self-government.

were to claim moral authority in its dealings with other nations.[36] It was precisely because of Britain's role as an imperial power that many on the left became committed anti-imperialists; they took the burden of their country's past and present seriously and hoped to mitigate its colonial legacy. Two areas in particular motivated human rights activists: slavery and forced labour.

It was in 1927 that several issues came together to make Innes's study of slavery and forced labour a higher priority than it had been. First, research for her third book for Hogarth Press led her to delve into the work of the International Labour Organization under whose purview the issues of slavery and forced labour were prominent. Secondly, Innes and Katherine Davies were asked to represent the Society of Friends' Peace Committee on a Women's Council established by the WIL to consider the question of forced labour.[37] Thirdly, Innes had become "intensely interested" in League of Nations Assembly discussions on slavery and forced labour.[38] Rumours of widespread corruption and use of forced labour in Liberia had been circulating since about 1927 (Gershoni 65), and by 1929 "The situation was so bad that the League of Nations sent an enquiry commission in 1930. In its report, the commission members stated that a situation close to slavery existed in the black republic founded by liberated slaves" (Gershoni 61).

In 1927 Hogarth Press published The League of Nations and the World's Workers. Innes approached slavery and forced labour from the point of view of the International Labour Organization (ILO); in other words, she treated them primarily as labour issues rather than human rights issues. From this perspective, her remarks in World's Workers may make sense pragmatically, though--as Leonard Woolf pointed out to her--"you go a little too far in your statement about the undesirability of abolishing slavery and forced labour at once."[39] The passage he objected to argued:

> If the League of Nations could, by a stroke of the pen, in one moment set free all the slaves in the world, it would not be wise to do it thus hastily, because for one thing it would cause in the countries where it is practised, great difficulty in getting necessary labour performed; for neither the slave-owners nor the slaves could, without much previous planning and

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[36] Earlier, in the 1920s, Innes had also drawn attention to the need for Englishwomen to try somehow to repair the image of Britain in China. See "The Delegation to China," WIL Monthly News Sheet 18.11 (October 1927): 3. She wrote: "We [the WIL] have always felt that it was most important, if possible, to send an Englishwoman to China, in view of the fact that we are the Foreign Power that is the most criticized in that country."

[37] SFPC Minutes, March 31, 1927.

[38] Kathleen Innes to Madeleine Doty, August 19, 1927, WILPFm II:147.

[39] Leonard Woolf to Kathleen Innes, January 22, 1927. HP 190.

> assistance, adapt themselves at once to a wage-system, and to the selling of labour as we know it....[40]

Woolf based his objection on humanitarian grounds; slavery is a reprehensible practice. Innes's claim--very difficult to defend from an humanitarian perspective--essentially overlooked slavery's effects on people in favour of focusing on the result of a sudden overthrow of such solidly established systems of social and political organization.

Innes noted that in African and Asian countries, for example, some "native chiefs" were just as guilty of "demand[ing] labour from their subjects, as for example the cultivation of their lands" as "white men" were of "demand[ing] that natives should give their labour for such public services as we pay taxes for" (World's Workers 43). Critical of the profit-motives driving forced labour and the poor treatment of workers, she commented:

> It is a pity that the Governments could not agree to abolish forced labour for private profit immediately everywhere; and to lay down at least as high standards for all colonial possessions as for the mandated territories; but it is an advance for some countries to agree that the system shall be ended even gradually, and that the workers must be fairly paid. People have begun to feel that "forced labour" is something which must be done away with, and the question is how best to bring this about. Here again, in upsetting established customs, it is necessary to collect full information in order to act wisely. The problem is one of labour. (43-44)

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, these issues appeared on the League of Nations Assembly Agenda, and Innes had made a point of attending sessions in which they were discussed.[41] "The promotion of human happiness, particularly where large numbers are involved, is an important factor in peaceful progress," she wrote after the League Assembly in 1931.

> The question of Slavery, affecting the welfare of about five million people, is a case in point. Since the acceptance of the Slavery Convention of 1926, by a large number of States, progress in the suppression of slavery has been slow and information often reluctantly given. The revelation of the state of affairs in Liberia in 1929 and 1930 stimulated interest in the question, and emphasised the need for a special Bureau to deal with the whole problem. This was asked for by the British delegation in 1930 but was not then accepted. In his speech to the full Assembly, Lord Cecil made it clear that some such proposal would be made again this year in the Sixth Committee. The Economy "axe," however, led to its being made in modified form. Lord Lytton proposed in the Sixth Committee that a special Temporary Committee of three experts should be

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[40] The League of Nations and the World's Workers 42. Hereafter cited in the text as "World's Workers."

[41] Kathleen Innes to Madeleine Doty, August 19, 1927. WILPFm II:147.

> appointed to collect information, and to assist by advice and recommendations, Governments desirous of help in the fight against slavery. This was agreed to for one year. ("Notes on Work Done at the 12th Assembly of the League of Nations" 1)

In 1932 she was able to advise colleagues of "the victory after ten years' discussion, by which an Advisory Committee of Experts on Slavery shall be set up to assist the Council of the League in the work to abolish that terrible and still widespread evil" ("The Thirteenth Assembly"). And when The League of Nations, the Complete Story appeared in 1936, Innes further updated the progress made in combatting slavery and forced labour. Mentioning Britain's ratification of the 1930 League Convention abolishing these practices and steps taken in 1935 to monitor and guard against infractions of the Convention,[42] she generously praised even the smallest gestures toward the cessation of unhealthy labour practices. She left untouched the remarks to which Woolf had objected in 1927.

Why Innes hesitated to call for a complete and immediate abolition of slavery and forced labour as she did for armaments is indeed problematic. She would have known that cessation of slavery would not occur overnight, just as disarmament had not. So why not make the demand? The reason lay in her overall political outlook. For all her beliefs about the economic organization of society regarding equal opportunity and equal pay for women and the breakdown of class barriers, when it came to large-scale labour problems and economic solutions, her Liberalism held sway.

One popular objection to disarmament had been the consequent rise in unemployment. Innes gave this problem considerable thought and published her response in The World Outlook. The Krupps armaments factory in Essen, Germany (for years the pre-eminent symbol of German militarism), successfully shifted from the manufacture of armaments to trains, cash registers, surgical and dental instruments, etc. after the First World War (part of the enforced German disarmament provision in the Treaty of Versailles). If Krupps' management "with great foresight and conscious planning" could turn the arms factory around after the war, other industrialists should also be able to accomplish the change-over. Slavery and forced labour, however, posed problems of a much larger proportion, and Innes could not sanction calling for an abrupt end, which were it achieved, would, in her view, surely bring chaos ("Disarmament and Unemployment" 15). Just as the conversion of the Krupps plants to peace-time production was gradually achieved, so would the conversion of slavery and forced labour into freely-entered, paid labour have to be accomplished incrementally. The significant difference between the two was, however, that Krupps workers had always been paid, whereas slaves and forced labourers were not (or were paid poorly). In her books for children, she was more openly cautious of employers' reactions than she was troubled by the moral and ethical questions raised by the practices. As she said about the implications of any rapid move to a fair system of paid labour:

> a sudden change without careful arrangements made beforehand would lead to lands which are now usefully cultivated going out

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[42] The League of Nations, the Complete Story 123. Hereafter references to this work will appear in the text as "Complete Story."

> of cultivation, and perhaps even some of the former slave-owners turning to robbery and fighting to get a living. (World's Workers 42)

Her view raises questions which, in regard to slavery and forced labour, she never adequately dealt with in her writing: whose interests would really be safeguarded by the continuance of unpaid labour? How does one balance efficiency and productivity against human rights? Woolf, who had similar concerns about the ethics and morality of slavery and forced labour, would have preferred that she emphasize those.

Woolf, in fact, made several suggestions for improving The League of Nations and the World's Workers before it first came out. It "would be greatly improved," he said, "if you added a certain amount of criticism. The intention and professions of the I.L.O. are admirable, but the execution of them has so far been lamentably short of what is professed. I feel your book gives too rosy a view to any one who does not know the facts, e.g. in the ratification of conventions and in hours of labour in Japan and the east generally."[43] Though Innes did take part of Woolf's suggestion to "[insert] short criticisms at various points," she held her ground on one issue in particular and explained to him: "I feel myself that the Governments are more at fault than the I.L.O. where it fails to carry out its intentions."[44] The aims and mechanism--as Woolf himself agreed--were not the problem; people were.[45] Reconstructing economies dependent on slavery and forced labour also depended upon people--unfortunately, thought Innes, upon people who often lacked the political will to make radical changes.

In spite of her stated belief in the impracticability of immediate abolition of slavery and forced labour, she disapproved of the practices, which could themselves lead to hostilities, as oppression usually did: "[W]e may be quite sure that oppression of any group of people by a group of another nation or class will lead to discontent, and, if ever opportunity offers, to breaking away and to revolt."[46] But even this criticism fell short of unequivocally claiming the immorality of oppressive labour practices.

In early 1930, she organized a conference on slavery hosted by the SFPC and the Friends' Slavery and Protection of Native Races Committee (SPNRC), of which she was also a member.[47] A few months later the WIL

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[43] Leonard Woolf to Kathleen Innes, January 22, 1927. HP 190.

[44] Kathleen Innes to Leonard Woolf, January 28, 1927. HP 190.

[45] This response to the ILO's falling short of expectations echoes her only major criticisms of the League of Nations--governments and people failed, the mechanism did not.

[46] How the League of Nations Works 59. Innes also wrote in "The Work of the W.I.L." and The Story of the League of Nations (21) of oppression's role instigating revolutions.

[47] This conference, convened on February 6, 1930, heard from, among others, J.H. Harris (a Friend and member of the Anti-Slavery Society), Charles Roberts (whose wife was a member of the National Peace Council along with Innes), and Isobel McGregor Ross, who had lived in Kenya (with her husband William McGregor Ross) for almost 20 years but left

appointed her to a committee charged with organizing a small conference on forced labour.[48] Both groups--the Friends and WIL--saw Innes as a valuable resource person and often called on her for help drafting memoranda and letters to the government, press, and Friends' Meetings across the country on slavery and forced labour.

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> The conclusion that does clearly emerge is that it is asking the impossible, at least of most ordinary and quite "decent" men and women[,] to leave them to be judges in their own cause.
> - "A Call to a Great Adventure"

If the first remedy for injustice involved the removal both of oppressive labour practices and of the exploitation of native populations, the second involved submission to third-party intervention in settling disputes. In the liberal spirit, like many of her colleague (notably Arnold Toynbee),[49] she held fast to her faith in the fairness and impartiality of the law.[49] The Reign of Law (published by Hogarth in 1929) described the old custom of "'trial by combat' ... introduced into England by William the Conqueror."[50] Each party in the dispute selected one knight to champion his claim. The matches "were fought under the 'hope that heaven would give the victory to him who had the right'" (Reign 9). Trial by combat employed the same principles of "justice" as those to which the prophets subscribed: the victor in battle had God and righteousness on his side. So, as Innes explained to the young readers of this schooltext:

> The story is worth recalling because of the smile that it provokes to-day. Who is there who does not say, "But what a foolish way of settling a claim. There was not even a probability that the right, as such, would win in any given case." In individual relations, all can realise the progress made by the change from such a primitive method of settlement to the acceptance of decisions according to the law. (10)

Unfortunately, when Innes wrote these words, Europeans had neither learned that might does not make right, nor heeded their own principles of justice in dealings with non-European/non-white races.

The year The Reign of Law came out (1929), Innes joined the Society of Friends Slavery and Protection of Native Races Committee (SPNRC), which directed British Quaker policy with regard to events in, for

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disillusioned with on-going British imperialism.

[48] Her colleagues on this committee were Isobel McGregor Ross and Mosa Anderson (both Friends and WIL members), as well as Dorothy Woodman and Mrs. Unwin.

[49] Arnold Toynbee, "The Nature and Paramount Aim of the League of Nations" in The Future of the League of Nations.

[50] The Reign of Law 9. Further references to this book will appear in the text, abbreviated as "Reign."

example, Kenya, Liberia, Abyssinia, and India.[51] This complemented her work of the same nature for the WIL: throughout the 1920s and 1930s, she sat on the WIL "backward races" committee[52] and on several sub-committees which suggested courses of action concerning events in or missions to India, Abyssinia, and China.[53]

One of the more frequently discussed subjects at SPNRC meetings was Kenyan affairs, without doubt because one of their members had extensive experience in the British Crown Colony: William McGregor Ross, former Director of Public Works for Kenya Colony (1905-1923), was a Quaker and husband of Innes's WIL colleague Isobel McGregor Ross. Like Leonard Woolf, who also had his share of British colonial administration, Ross was critical of the British Government's imperial policies. His Kenya from Within, which along with Norman Leys's Kenya (1924),[54] says one historian, "undoubtedly helped [to] end a vacuum in thought on the left in Britain at this time on colonial matters and to develop a humanitarian concern at the extension of economic exploitation by capitalist and white settler interests in British African colonies" (Rich 74). Leys and Ross, who had each accumulated years of evidence of British practices in East Africa, turned to publishing "tracts and book-length analyses of white settler colonialism ... in order to influence and inform British public opinion and hopefully awaken a philanthropic conscience on this issue" (74).

Two years before their working together on the SPNRC, Innes reviewed Ross's book for The Friend. With Ross, Innes took great exception to continued British immigration to the colony. "Even in September, 1924," she wrote, "Sir Robert Coryndon, as Governor of Kenya, was proposing to establish colonies of white farmers on picked sites inside the already seriously invaded Native 'Reserves,' in order to 'ensure the uplift of the surrounding natives'" ("A Call to a Great Adventure" 1112). Innes, guided by Ross's revelations about British involvement in Kenya, regarded the professed altruistic motives of the white settlers as pernicious and opposed the ongoing imperialist

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[51] Usually Friends could not be members of more than one major standing committee of the London Yearly Meeting, though for some reason, Innes was allowed simultaneous membership on both the SFPC and the SPNRC.

[52] WIL Executive Committee Minutes, March 10, 1931. WIL/BLPES 1/7.

[53] See WIL Executive Committee Minutes, May 14, 1930 (WIL/BLPES 1/6); WILPF International Executive Committee Minutes March 25-30, 1935 (WILPF I-8-1); and WIL Executive Committee Minutes August 19, 1927 (WILPF III-13-6), respectively. For correspondence relating to the "China mission" see, e.g.: Kathleen Innes to Madeleine Doty, June 23, 1927 (WILPFm II:247); Kathleen Innes to Mrs. Grover Clark, June 23, 1927 (WILPFm II:247); Kathleen Innes to Madeleine Doty, July 1, 1927 (WILPFm II:247).

[54] Leys, a medical doctor turned anti-imperialist activist, had Kenya published in 1924 by the Hogarth Press. This was Woolf's first foray into political publishing; Innes's The Story of the League of Nations (1925) was his second. See J.H. Woolmer, Publications of The Hogarth Press; Rich 70, 74.

practice of encouraging encroachment on what little was left of the Native Reserves.

Innes offered the following observations based on her reading of Ross's book:

> The account of the eviction of the Masai of the Rift Valley, and the pressure put upon them "to induce them to leave their grazing grounds for the Northern Reserves" (official record), and of their subsequent disastrous return to the Reserve in the South, is one which should be read in full by any who believe that even-handed justice is administered impartially to all our coloured dependants. Even the Official History shows that "the suggestion to move the Masai was undoubtedly made in the interests of European settlers." The Masai, it is admitted, were experienced in choosing grazing grounds and therefore "a European requiring a stock farm cannot go wrong in acquiring land formerly occupied by Masai." The "wrong" it appears is used in a sense free from all moral content. (1112)

She took very seriously the implications for all white Europeans of the actions of a few.

In 1934, about five years into her term on the Slavery and Protection of Native Races Committee, the WIL sponsored a conference on "Our Responsibilities to Subject Peoples in Africa," which the Friends' committee endorsed, probably at Innes's prompting.[55] She chaired the morning session, "Land and Labour," which heard from William McGregor Ross; Major Orde Browne, formerly Labour Commissioner, Tanganyika Territory, substitute Member of the International Committee of Experts on Native Labour based in Geneva and author of The African Labourer; and W.G. Ballinger, Technical Adviser to the Native Trade Union Movement in the Union of South Africa and author of Race and Economics in South Africa (WIL/BLPES 4/17). The SPNRC was highly visible at the WIL conference with Innes chairing a session, Ross giving a presentation, and Mosa Anderson, John P. Fletcher, and the SPNRC clerk attending.[56] Throughout the 1930s, Innes continued to monitor British policy in Kenya, working in conjunction with William McGregor Ross to write letters destined for the Colonial Office protesting British policy in the Kenyan Highlands.[57]

The group of anti-imperialists with whom Innes most closely associated were those of the "liberal school of analysts, such as Leys, [William] Macmillan, and [Sydney] Olivier" as well as Leonard Woolf and William McGregor Ross (Rich 81). They tended to reject the segregationist practices of the American South and to favour a cultural relativist approach to imperial questions (71). Influenced by his own experience in Jamaica and by Mary Kingsley's writings on West Africa, Sydney Olivier--whom the Women's International League supported in 1921 for a seat on the Mandate Commission--believed that "It was possible 'quite seriously' to take Africans as 'rational beings to be weighed in

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[55] SPNRC Minutes, September 6, 1934.

[56] Ibid.

[57] See for example, SPNRC Minutes for November 3, 1932; December 7, 1934; June 5, 1935.

the same scales as the white races'" (73).

This notion of the basic rationality of non-white races was a radical concept at the time, since it was generally assumed that non-white races were essentially child-like and non-rational. Four of Innes's pamphlets attempted to counter precisely this popular wisdom and the accompanying belief that the coloured races were naturally given to hostility. The so-called "primitive races," she argued in Love Conquers All (1928), Peace-making in Africa (1933?), Victory Without Arms (1934), and Pennell of the North West Frontier (1935), had much to teach Europeans.

Peace-making in Africa is paradigmatic of her views. The pamphlet described a dispute between the Kru tribes of Liberia.

> When the Council of the League of Nations was meeting in May, 1932, a message came to it from the Government of Liberia. The Kru Tribes were in turmoil. A number of them in 1931 had taken up arms against the Government, and soon after that they had begun to fight amongst themselves, to quarrel about land, and to rebel against some of their own Chiefs. During the fighting forty-four "towns" of native huts had been burnt and a large number of people killed. Four tribes, about twelve thousand men, women and children had been driven out of their homes, far into the bush inland, and as during the fighting rice-crops had been destroyed, many of them were starving. Some of them had been eight months without homes or proper food.

The government, "not know[ing] what to do to put a stop to the trouble," called in the League of Nations. A man from the League Secretariat was dispatched and "soon went to the root of the trouble. He found the tribes were fully armed with guns and rifles, some of them smuggled in by the Krus living nearby, outside Liberia." Factions were disarmed; Dr. Mackenzie interviewed those involved in hostilities "to find out why fighting had begun"; and this 'disinterested' third party moderator suggested peace terms which were accepted by all. Innes drew the following conclusions from the incident:

> First, those fighting agreed to let someone from outside, who was not concerned in their quarrel, help them to settle it....
>
> Secondly, Dr. Mackenzie saw that arms make wars, and that disarmament removes fear and leads to peace. The Kru Chiefs saw that he was right. When will the "civilised" nations see this too?
>
> Thirdly, when once the fighting stopped, it was possible and necessary to go into the causes which had led to it....

With this pamphlet, Innes wanted to impress upon her European readers that for all their "civilization" some marks of civility were noticeably and appallingly absent. Evidence of this was to be had aplenty in Europe: in 1933 Hitler had acquired dictatorial power and the Nazi boycott of Jews began and in 1934; in Britain a crowd of 15,000 filled the main hall at Olympia to hear Oswald Mosley, head of the British Union of Fascists, speak.[58]

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[58] Illustrated London News: Marching to War, 1933-1939: Summer 1934.

In the early 1930s when Innes wrote, the apparent oases of peace and civility described in her pamphlets served as tiny points of light in the dark reality of militarism, Fascism, and distrust run rampant throughout Europe and the Far East.

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> Should we not think all the time, not of defence by arms, but of how to change the conditions, material and spiritual, so that those who now believe in and live by violence, may change also?
>
> - Pennell of the North West Frontier

This rhetorical question might appear anywhere in Innes's writings, as early as 1919 or as late as 1946 (after which she turned her attention from international politics to local history). Coming as it did in a pamphlet on the North West Frontier of India it takes on altered significance. According to Innes, the "primitive and war-like Tribes" which occupied the Indian-Afghan border region fought one another not only for food, but "perhaps even [for] excitement and occupation" (2); hostilities grounded in political differences did not figure as a possible source of conflict, as indeed it probably did not in the biography from which she drew her information.[59] Dr. Theodore Leighton Pennell chose to live on the North West Frontier in the hope of changing the inhabitants' "war-like" behaviour. As Innes concluded:

> The needs of the people on the North West Frontier are great. They need hospitals, food, access to wells, good roads, education. One man who brought them hospitals and medical care, and food for souls and bodies, blazed the trail.
>
> Along the lines he laid down, true peace might be brought to many places which it is now generally regarded as necessary to defend by force of arms.

From Innes's perspective, Pennell's story was important for two reasons: First, it showed that not all white men gained power and respect by the sword or gun. (Love Conquers All about William Penn among the Indians of North America also made this point.) Secondly, it proved that violence could be stopped--many Indians came to trust and respect Pennell and put down their weapons. This pamphlet, like Peace-making in Africa, suffers from the rhetoric of, and attitudes endemic to, imperial Britain--for example, that it took a white man to turn a hostile situation around. Nevertheless, Innes tried to treat with an even hand any group or society which resorted to violence.

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[59] Innes advised readers that "The facts in this leaflet are taken for the most part from the Life of Pennell, by Norman J. Davidson." Various descriptions of events and of the tribes are drawn from the book, though Innes seems to treat them uncritically. Although her brothers had extensive experience travelling and living in Asia (George Freeman) and the Far East (William Massy), Innes gained her experience of Africa, the Far East, and the Middle East vicariously, through reading and listening to her friends stories of their experiences.

The over-riding concern in her pamphlets[60] was not imperialism per se, which she saw as but one manifestation of a larger problem--militarism; her concern was disarmament and peaceful international relations. In a lesson-plan for leaders of study circles, Innes gave the following "rough definition" of imperialism: "'Desire for State Expansion.' It includes attempts to dominate subject peoples and exploit economic resources in acquired lands."

> What are its causes? Among them are: Exaggerated Nationalism; Economic Rivalries; Desire for power in international politics; Control of food supplies; Desire for Naval and military reserves; Protection of investments; Need of outlets for expanding populations. (The Problems of Peace Organization 8)

Competition as the basis of relations amongst nations coupled with these factors produced an atmosphere hostile to healthy international co-operation. Disputes past and present in North America, Liberia, Asia, Australia, and Scandinavia provided Innes with source material to press her point: strife followed by discussion led to peaceful resolution. Into a world deeply troubled by Stalinist purges, widespread rearmament, and Italian aggression in Abyssinia, Innes let loose her pamphlets--pleas for all peoples to value disarmament and abandon the "will to war" (The Prevention of War 6).

While Innes was not trying to make an explicit point about independence and self-government, her pamphlets did contribute to the literature about the Empire rapidly becoming available by white intellectuals. She took for granted the basic humanity of coloured races at the same time as she displayed the protective attitudes adopted by others on the liberal left who felt it their duty to protect their "coloured dependents." Because she and others on the liberal left experienced discrimination differently from Black nationalists and wrote for different audiences, their rhetoric and attitudes widely diverged:

> radical black nationalists in Britain saw themselves as gatekeepers in the British imperial metropolis for a nationalist audience in different colonies, while the white British left was appealing to a sense of fairness and justice in the British labour movement on behalf of black colonial peoples. The white left thus had a much firmer belief in enlightenment optimism at the heart of the European socialist tradition and the rational logic engrained in government policy. (Rich 90-91)

Without doubt, Innes's thinking fits exactly into this "enlightenment" view of British imperialism's legacy. Her pamphlets were pitched to white audiences already familiar with imperialist rhetoric concerning the supposed savagery--"noble" or not--of foreign, non-white races.

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[60] Why Fight? How two countries made a peaceful separation (n.d.; about Norway and Sweden), Love Conquers All (1928; about William Penn and North American Indians), The Safest Frontier (1931; about Canada and the USA), Peace-making in Africa (1933?; about Liberia), Victory Without Arms (1934; about Japanese fishermen and Australian Aboriginals), and Defence of the Weak (1935; argued that war does not protect citizens), Pennell of the North West Frontier (1935).

Whatever work Innes's pamphlets did at the time to raise consciousness about the wrong-headedness of attitudes toward Africans, Indians, and Aboriginals from New Zealand, they did reinscribe the idea that natives had to be protected and needed "white men's" help to settle disputes in a rational, just manner.[61] This view, Innes shared with Leonard Woolf and Sydney Olivier who also supported the League of Nations' Mandate System.

Although the benevolence and philanthropy of liberal whites in the 1920s and 1930s contained traces of Victorian noblesse oblige, their motivations were different. Innes recognized the wrongs committed by Britain against its colonies, and this "guilt" compelled her to join the anti-imperialist struggle instead of to display hostility to changes in the status quo. In contrast, both Karen Blixen and Evelyn Waugh described in the 1930s white settlers in Kenya as being "out of sympathy with their own age"; the settlers kept alive Victorian values in the colonies, while people in Britain "destroyed the traditional social order" by ushering in changes necessary for the establishment of a cosmopolitan, internationalized world (Spurr 116). Innes's moral codes moved well beyond the bounds of those acceptable during her Victorian upbringing, and diverged from those of mainstream Liberals in England who supported British expansion. She saw the injustice of continued imperialist policies and argued that "subject races" be judged "not by our laws, which they do not understand, but ... in a way that they would feel was fair, and ... [would] take into account their ways and customs" (Victory Without Arms).

Militarism and eventual wars hurt not only colonial peoples and women (see Women and War [1934]), Innes argued, they hurt everyone involved, who "weak or strong--is soon merely a pawn in the struggle" (Defence of the Weak 4-5). Therefore, she urged people to resolve "first and foremost ... to give up the claim to be judge in our own cause" (5) and to rely on justice, not power, for their defense.

> [I]n 'power politics' weak nations are forced to submit not because the nation is right, but because the nation is strong. This is an immoral state of affairs and is closely involved with the maintenance of the war system, which must be abandoned if weak nations are to be truly "defended." (6)

Just as "weak"--i.e., the politically disempowered colonial peoples and women--suffer under colonial rule and patriarchy, so do "weak" nations suffer from the whims and might of the economic powerhouses. Disarmament and reliance on peaceful methods to settle disputes provided the best possible security for all.

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> "The majority of people will support World Disarmament if they get the opportunity." Will YOU, who read this, help to see that they get it?
>
> - "Are We Getting There?"

In 1931 came the long-awaited call for a League of Nations-sponsored disarmament conference. One month after the announcement that

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[61] See Leonard Woolf, Imperialism and Civilization; Rich 77ff.

it would convene in February 1932, the WIL staged a mass rally in Queen's Hall London to which they invited Arthur Henderson to speak. At the time, neither they nor he knew that he would be appointed to Chair the vitally important conference. Henderson was optimistic about the benefits such a conference might bring and told the gathered crowd: "At the Disarmament Conference as elsewhere ... the Governments will do what the people want. If the people want disarmament, they can have it" (Henderson qtd. in Bussey and Tims 95). That same month, Innes, too, stressed the need for mass involvement in the campaign and the opportunity it provided for a massive peace education campaign ("Are We Getting There?").

In preparation for the conference, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom decided to document public support in the form of a petition to be presented at the opening of the 1932 World Disarmament Conference. The petition began circulating in May 1930 as an "appeal for use by national sections in a mass propaganda campaign for universal disarmament" (Bussey and Tims 94). By the fall of 1931, ten national WILPF sections had joined in, and "the petition was translated into 18 languages, including Arabic" (95). In England, the Declaration received favourable publicity in the News Chronicle after the Daily Express attacked the WIL's efforts.[62] This was not a new departure for the Express, which had been vilifying peace groups ever since the First World War.[63]

Though conceived of and designed by the WILPF, the Disarmament Petition quickly gained support from societies all over the world. In the summer of 1931, Innes travelled to Belgrade, where she had been invited to speak on "Disarmament and the Disarmament Convention" at a Peace Conference organized by the International Alliance for Women's Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. She knew that Eastern Europeans found peace work difficult because "They do not get public notice, and in some cases the Press is not free to give news about them," so she was certainly not prepared for the response she received ("Peace Opinion in Eastern Europe" 3). Before she spoke, the ex-Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia gave an address on "the need for security and the need for further advance in opinion before much could be done" (3). He was roundly dismissed, Innes reported.

> The case for disarmament, which I put at the end of the same morning, was widely welcomed, and delegates of several countries asked for copies of my talk--simply because it did demand drastic measures of reduction in the interests of security and peace. (3)

Whatever else she might have said during her speech, Innes would have drawn attention to the petition as one way of voicing their opinion. On her return home, she had pleasant news for colleagues about the

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[62] George Innes, "World Disarmament: The Question of the Day" 14.

[63] In July 1915 it had "published under the heading, 'A Trio of Peace Prattlers' pictures of MacDonald, Angell and Morel resembling criminals on 'Wanted' posters," and labelled these and other members of the Union of Democratic Control as "pro-German" (Haste 150). Their reporting since the war had not substantially changed its hostility toward pacifism.

enthusiasm that greeted her in Belgrade. Peace work in Eastern Europe may have been less vocal than in Western Europe, but it did exist and the women engaged in it were enthusiastic, Innes informed readers of the WIL Monthly News Sheet.

The International Alliance for Women's Suffrage and Equal Citizenship was not the only society that helped make the petition a success: League of Nations Unions also promoted it, especially the British branch, as did the British Society of Friends. Innes was, of course, Secretary of the SFPC at the time, and her committee decided to make the WILPF Disarmament petition a priority in 1931. When the petition began its circulation, Innes set her Quaker colleagues to work visiting communities, collecting signatures, and educating citizens about the urgent need for disarmament. They held lectures, meetings, study circles, poster displays, and "Peace Shops." These occasions, she wrote in her report on SFPC activities, "afforded fine opportunity for the distribution of literature among people whose interest was whetted, and for talks in the streets and on house-to-house visits .... It is impossible to estimate the number of signatures secured as most have been returned [to the WIL] direct; but those we know of run into tens of thousands" ("The campaign for world disarmament" 4-5). She noted that the Friends' peace testimony also benefitted from contact with other groups and exposed it to "a wide audience, most of whom have, probably, otherwise never heard of Friends' point-of-view" (5).

Innes herself gave lecture tours supporting the petition, explaining the Quaker peace testimony, and developing interest in the League of Nations' disarmament initiatives.[64] From her desk in the SFPC Office, she oversaw the distribution of over 200,000 pamphlets and 9,000 posters and co-ordinated the distribution of additional pamphlets produced by societies other than the Quakers, usually sending them out with "our Monthly News Letter to all Friends' Meetings." George Innes's booklet, "Disarmament: Facts, Figures, Quotations," needed translating into French (something she was undoubtedly too busy to do herself) for the Friends' Office in Paris, which had requested 1500 copies. Innes's organizational skills were pressed almost to their limit, and the office was so busy that extra help had to be hired ("The campaign for world disarmament" 6, 5). Innes also received help distributing SFPC

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[64] Innes mentioned in a letter to Camille Drevet that she could not accept an invitation to speak at a conference because "I have now, unfortunately, just taken 4 speaking engagements here just for the days when I should be away in Geneva if I accepted" (December 29, 1931; WILPFm III:311). Although she did not explicitly say what she would be speaking about, during the months leading up to the Disarmament Conference, the WILPF Petition business kept her busy. She gave a lecture in the Friends' series "Peace and Internationalism" covering ways individuals could make a difference to the Disarmament Conference; she was also appointed to the WIL Executive Committee's Disarmament Declaration sub-committee, "to make arrangements for carrying out the work in connection with the Disarmament Declaration, which would form the principal part of our work this year" (WIL Executive Committee Minutes, May 14, 1930; WIL/BLPES 1/6).

literature from about a dozen societies.[65]

When signature-gathering efforts scaled down and petitions made their way to the WIL's Gower Street Headquarters, staff counted two million signatures--from Britain alone.[66] World-wide, the results of the petition overwhelmed even the WILPF (Bussey and Tims 94). "[M]illions of petitions [were] collected during the international disarmament campaigns of the past two years [1930-1932] by peace societies and ex-servicemen; by religious and labour organizations; above all, by women, mothers of one slaughtered generation and another now threatened." Women's organizations collected eight million, six million of which were solely the fruit of WILPF efforts (Bussey and Tims 101).

Early in 1932, the two million British petitions started their journey to Geneva. The WIL knew from experience that a loud send-off celebration would draw media attention for the petition's presentation to the World Disarmament Conference. "The women responsible," Innes recalled, "realized the need of drawing pageantry into the service of the Peace Movement":

> At 55 Gower Street, the office of the Women's International League, where the petitions were piled up, an interesting ceremony was arranged. Before the bundles were taken out to the motor lorry, Lord Cecil and a little girl of three carried the first packages hand-in-hand down a passage formed by holders of banners and posters. At Victoria [Station] the authorities co-operated in a picturesque ceremony. A meeting was held on the platform and at the correct moment the train steamed out carrying the petitions en route for Geneva. (Innes, Women and War 6)

Innes derived great pleasure from mass gatherings that demonstrated the strength and vitality of women's movements, and the WILPF's "monster Declaration on World Disarmament," as she called it, testified once again to the significance of the women's achievement. In Women and War she noted that those involved world-wide in co-ordinating the petition managed "both to show the keenness of the women in many countries to organise for peace, and to bring home the fact that their work is constantly directed to the attainment of practical ends by practical political means" (6).

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[65] "Groups outside the Friends which have had supplies of our Disarmament Literature include Joint Disarmament Committees, League of Nations Union Branches, Adult Schools, Labour Party Groups, Liberals, Church of England gatherings, Wesleyans, Congregational Groups, Baptists, a Trades Council, and No More War" ("The campaign for world disarmament" 7).

[66] Innes, Women and War 6; Bussey and Tims 101; Birn 143.

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> Whatever the result of the 1932 Disarmament Conference, one thing is certain: the fact that it is being held has given opportunities for a large amount of educational work which must surely bear fruit in a widely changed outlook.
> - "The campaign for world disarmament"

As a Vice-Chairman of the Women's International League, Secretary of the Society of Friends' Peace Committee, and committed League of Nations Union supporter/influential wife of a LNU Organiser, Innes provided important liaisons among many organizations during the Disarmament Campaign. By 1930, at the age of forty-seven, she and her husband had a network of friends and acquaintances within universities, schools, governments, media, women's groups, pacifist organizations, and religious communities across several continents. Her reputation extended beyond her local community to the national and international spheres. So the Disarmament Campaign marked something of a new departure for Innes--it enabled her to bring this extensive web of friendships to bear on the promotion of what, according to George Innes, many peace workers saw as "one of the most momentous Conferences in the history of human society, for upon its success or failure the whole future of civilization may turn."[67]

February 22, 1932 delegates from sixty-one nations attended the League-sponsored World Disarmament Conference, and after five months of negotiations, however, delegates had agreed on no more than to support a "substantial reduction of world armaments"--the principle that presumably brought them together in the first place.[68] They continued to disagree about substantive issues such as defining "offensive" versus "defensive" weapons. As Innes acerbically noted: "This had been settled easily enough in 1919, when it was a question of disarming the defeated Powers, but was not found so simple to achieve by consent in 1932" (Prevention 24). Little did she know that two years later, she would still be writing about the failures of the conference:

> When the Disarmament Conference met in 1932, few foresaw that it would be continuing in 1934 and that its task in the practical field would not be begun when 1934 dawned. The fact that no measure of disarmament has been achieved by months of conference and committee work, and that at the moment the outlook is less hopeful than it has ever been, makes the first issue in the New Year that of disarmament or re-armament. ("Peace Issues in 1934")

Innes's bleak, sceptical view of the conference reflected the general disappointment of peace activists from South America to the Far East, Europe to Africa. So did her prescient suspicion that "if no agreement is reached to disarm to the German level within a reasonable time, Germany (who is without doubt already re-arming) will claim publicly the right to re-arm" ("Peace Issues in 1934"). By the summer of 1934,

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[67] George Innes, "World Disarmament: The Question of the Day" 13.

[68] Essential Facts about the League of Nations 139.

conference delegates worked out many principles for disarmament but still reached an impasse "as regards the application of these principles."[69]

Events of the 1930s did little to engender optimism about Europe's and Asia's political well-being. Depressed economies, the Spanish Civil War, the Manchurian crisis degenerating into the Sino-Japanese war of 1937, and the Italo-Abyssinian dispute beginning in 1935 oppressed already sagging spirits. When Japan (March 1933), then Germany (October 1933), and later Italy (December 1937) announced intentions to pull out of the League of Nations, peace workers asked themselves how the League could survive.

In the midst of these crises and waning belief in League authority, the Hogarth Press published in a one volume special edition, The League of Nations, the Complete Story, Innes's previous four books for young people, and she produced the several pamphlets discussed above. These and other attempts to generate continued interest in the League through peace exhibitions, study circles, and demonstrations met with increased scepticism as the 1930s wore on. Nevertheless, peace workers held fast to their struggle to make public opinion against militarism count in international negotiations.

The Disarmament Declaration would not be the last time Innes felt the exhilaration of working on such an enormous international undertaking; it prepared her for an even bigger project which propelled her more prominently onto the international stage in the mid 1930s.

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[69] Essential Facts 142.

Chapter 5
A World of Crises, 1932-1937 and 1946

> The risks of failing to-day to stop aggression are far greater than any risks likely to be taken in the effort to stop it.
> - "Sino-Japanese Conflict"

When Innes turned fifty in 1933, she belonged to more than half a dozen organizations, held the Women's International League Honourary Secretaryship and the Secretaryship of the Society of Friends Peace Committee. Among her colleagues on the National Peace Council through the 1930s were some of the most influential members in the peace movement: historian George Peabody Gooch (with whom she had edited a series of histories in the 1920s), E.W. Barnes (Bishop of Birmingham), J.H. Hertz (Chief Rabbi), Hewlett Johnson (Dean of Canterbury), A. Maude Royden, Rev. Canon F.L. Donaldson (Westminster Abbey), Gilbert Murray, A.D. Henderson, Percy W. Bartlett, and several Quaker and WIL colleagues including A. Ruth Fry, Alexander C. Wilson, Barbara Duncan Harris, Mary Chick, Mary Sheepshanks, Lady Unwin, and Dorothy Woodman. With these co-workers, Innes responded to the most pressing issues of the day both in speeches and in print. From 1930 to 1939, she published no fewer than forty-one articles and book reviews, five books, and seven pamphlets and gave (probably many) more than 80 lectures in Britain and on the continent. Foremost on her mind were issues brought before the League of Nations: the Manchurian crisis, Italo-Abyssinian War, Spanish Civil War, and topics of long-standing interest to Britain--namely, India and Palestine.

Seven months after Japan seized Mukden in Manchuria and three months after the bombing of Chapei had catapulted the Manchurian crisis into a position "of intense public interest" (Birn 99), Innes's article "Sino-Japanese Conflict" appeared in the WIL Monthly News Sheet (April 1932).[1] Appalled by Japan's actions in China, Innes reported on the necessity of pressuring "Japan to keep its Treaty obligations" (SJC), something from which Britain cowered. Innes had long appreciated Lord Cecil's promotion of the League of Nations and the support he had shown the WIL, but she could not countenance his and other LNU leaders' "non-committal position" on the subject of Japanese aggression (Birn 97), even though majority LNU opinion, according to the editor of Headway (the official LNU journal), favoured tough measures against Japan (98). And she sharply criticized Lord Grey's refusal "to realise that our Government had failed in any way to support the U.S.A. in the pressure that country has endeavoured to put on Japan" (SJC).

The WIL took a tough stand at their 1932 Annual Council meeting which heard from British historian and director of studies at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Arnold Toynbee. He spoke on "the necessity for definite action" and "point[ed] out the risks to the whole fabric of international order if aggression is not stopped or is allowed to achieve its ends."[2] Apparently WIL members agreed, for they endorsed a resolution "calling upon the League, should Japan continue to violate

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[1] References to this article will appear as "SJC" in text.

[2] This is Innes's summary of Toynbee's remarks in "Sino-Japanese Conflict."

the Covenant, to ask its Members to 'withdraw their Ambassadors and bring such economic and financial pressure to bear upon Japan as will be most effective to restore peace'" (SJC).

Innes extended her criticism of the way national governments and the League of Nations responded to the Manchurian Crisis in "War Prevention: Some Notes on the Lessons of a Failure" (Chapter Five of The Prevention of War). She skilfully balanced technical analyses of the League Covenant, treaties, and various conventions with enough background information to provide a lucid account of complicated material. To read her summary of the lessons to be learned from the Manchurian crisis causes one to forget that in the 1930s--during the heyday of the "cult of domesticity" in Britain and the publication boom of "women's magazines" catering to those with a taste for home-making, fashion, and leisure--few women wrote so confidently and so much about international affairs as Innes:[3]

> To sum up the lessons of a recent crisis--one of the first essentials for war prevention to-day seems a broader interpretation of the "friendly right" of calling attention to conditions threatening peace, coupled with arrangements for impartial and friendly investigation. Wider acceptance of the Convention for Strengthening the Means of Preventing War would be helpful in the case of an actual outbreak, coupled with a definition of aggression which would not probe into motives, but would concern itself only with immediate defiance of a Council decision. Further inquiry into means of pressure, designed solely to make fighting impossible, should be undertaken, and drastic measures of disarmament would make these more possible. Methods of co-operation with the U.S.A. must be patiently pursued, along hopeful lines already emerging.
>
> Finally, we would point out that, although these notes have dwelt mainly on the causes of relative failure in the Sino-Japanese dispute, the assumption of ultimate failure must not be too hastily accepted. (92-93)

In spite of Innes's optimism--and seemingly unflinching faith in humanity--the incident did ultimately prove to be a major League failure, as she readily conceded in a newly written section of The League of Nations, the Complete Story published by Hogarth Press in 1936. "Why did the League fail to prevent this conquest?" she asked. "A book would be needed to answer this question fully, but a few reasons may be given": Japanese militarism, China's inability to rule effectively in Manchuria, US uncertainty, and the Great Powers' lack of political will significantly contributed to the failure (55). She firmly maintained "That the complexities of the dispute do not affect the one issue that Japan used force to gain her ends."[4]

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[3] See Martin Pugh, Chapter 4: "The Anti-Feminist Reaction," Women and the Women's Movement in Britain, 1914-1959.

[4] The Prevention of War: A Scheme for the Use of Study Circles, etc 10.

And yet, for all the public condemnation prompted by Japan's bellicosity, some understanding of Japan's reasons was necessary to prevent similar occurrences, Innes argued.

> Japan did wrong to break her pledges, but she had an excuse that nations with many possessions must try to understand and to meet. She has a small island empire, very densely populated, and needing outlets for trade and people, if the nation is to be fed. If she cannot find these outlets peacefully she, any nation in her position, will try to find them by force. If we wish to prevent this we must get together and see how to meet such needs.
>
> If this is the one excuse for Japan, it is the excuse also for Italy, in her attempt to get colonies in Africa. It does not make it right for either to break treaties and to do to war to gain her ends, but when we see the same causes leading to these disasters in each case, we are not good League members either, unless we do what we can to see if the causes of trouble can be removed. (Complete Story 56)

Innes attributed similar motives to the Italians for invading Abyssinia: economic imperialism and state expansion. Their actions, she argued, amounted to "cold-blooded aggression."[5]

Not many British media outlets and writers had as much to say about the Sino-Japanese dispute and the Italo-Abyssinian War as they did about the Spanish Civil War;[6] however, one writer who presented himself as an authority on Italy and Ethiopia was Evelyn Waugh. Waugh in Abyssinia, published within one month of Innes's The League of Nations, the Complete Story, proclaimed firm support for Italy and showed little respect for Abyssinians. His mysteriously titled first chapter, "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to the Ethiopian Question"--presumably meant to invoke George Bernard Shaw's The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism--presented a brief history of Italy's quarrel with Abyssinia and proceeded to justify Italy's actions. If standards for women's intelligence hinged upon their acceptance of Waugh's position, Innes did not measure up. The two could not have presented more differing opinions if they had gotten together to plan their remarks. His dislike and distrust of Abyssinians leaped off the page. Without the irony characteristic of his novels, Waugh proclaimed:

> ... the Abyssinians, in spite of their being by any possible standard an inferior race, persisted in behaving as superiors; it was not that they were hostile, but contemptuous. The white man, accustomed to other parts of Africa, was disgusted to find the first-class carriages on the railway usurped by local

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[5] WIL Statement on the Italo-Abyssinian Situation, August 28, 1935. WILPFm III:320.

[6] For a sample of British writers on the Spanish Civil war see Virginia Woolf's Three Guineas, Arthur Koestler's The Invisible Writing, Nancy Cunard's Authors Take Sides on the Spanish Civil War. See also Spain and Us containing short statements by J.B. Priestley, Rebecca West, Stephen Spender, Ethel Mannin, Francis Meynell, Louis Golding, T.F. Powys, J. Langdon-Davies, and Catherine Carswell.

> dignitaries; he found himself subject to officials and villainous-looking men at arms whose language he did not know, who showed him no sort of preference on account of his colour, and had not the smallest reluctance to using force on him if he became truculent. (Waugh 35)

Innes, who lacked Waugh's first-hand experience of travelling in Africa, evinced no such an attitude, nor is it likely that she would have changed her mind had she been to Africa. She wrote about Abyssinians as equals and believed that their presence in Geneva as full members of the League of Nations was a positive step in national race relations. In fact, in her 1925 book The Story of the League of Nations, used as a text in several London County Council schools, she described in a sense of wonderment the diversity of races and cultures represented at Geneva. Her readers were mostly young girls and boys who had probably never seen someone of another race, and Innes wanted to inspire in them the value of respecting all people.

> It must be noticed too, that not only the white nations, but what we call the "coloured" peoples have their representatives at Geneva. In the row behind France, next to Italy, sits the Japanese delegation. In the middle, just in front of the platform, you will find the Chinese. Among the Indians there has been Prince Ranjit Singhi, the great cricketer, and near the back on the same side is a delegation from Siam. In 1924 there was a very picturesque delegation from Abyssinia, which was admitted a member on the promise being given by the King to put down slavery in its boundaries. These delegates were very black indeed, with coal-clack hair, and they dressed in black satin headgear, with long black cloaks to match, over full white trousers, tied at the ankle. (Story 45-46)

Obviously written for a white British audience, Innes played the difficult and dangerous game of trying to balance descriptions of difference with an equally strong appeal to the need for respect of other cultures. As she wrote in the book's final chapter: "Sometimes because people differ from us in their ways, we are inclined to laugh at them or make fun of them, or even to dislike them. We forget that our ways seem just as strange to them" (58). She argued that in Geneva non-white races had as important a contribution to make as the white races did. And the fact of Abyssinia being represented by Black delegates was a positive step in international relations, Innes thought. A demonstration of Abyssinian duplicity, Waugh believed (29-31).

Italy had, with France's and Britain's consent, been given many "rights" in Abyssinia. As Waugh put it, Italy's "policy was an economic and cultural imperialism of the kind which the United States of America have imposed upon their unprogressive Latin neighbours and of which the Treaty of Friendship, signed in 1928, was intended to be the charter. It was the frustration of this policy which provoked the war of 1935" (Waugh 29). According to Waugh, Italy chose to expand its sphere of influence through "benign" rather than muscular imperialism. When this did not work to their liking, he argued, hostilities became inevitable. But as Innes noted, the Abyssinians themselves were not consulted about many of the treaties that worked in Italy's favour, so no wonder problems arose (Complete Story 57).

Innes had long decried the use of economic imperialism as a basis

of international relations; it bred mistrust and disrespect.[7] So she became profoundly alarmed over the implications if the Great Powers were to abandon Ethiopia:

> The probable--nay, certain--effect on the coloured peoples of any abandonment of Ethiopia's cause must be an anxiety to all. Unless we solve the problem of co-operation with the coloured races, on terms of equality and justice, the prospects of peace will be menaced everywhere before many decades have passed. Flagrant aggression, such as is contemplated, by a white race against a black, must make the development of peaceful relations infinitely harder. ("Geneva--And After")

War did come, and this politically astute woman--very much at odds with Waugh--explained:

> Unfortunately, war can only be made by a Government whose people believe what the Government tells it. It may of course be told the truth, but it is very seldom told all the truth, and more often the truth is kept from it. This sacrifice of truth is one of the strongest arguments against war. The Italian people were told that the Abyssinian war was provoked by Abyssinia, and was necessary to protect Italian colonies. They were told that it was a war to civilize a barbarous people and to free many slaves and others, who welcomed the conqueror as a deliverer. The "sanctions," therefore, seemed to them cruel and to be inspired by jealousy of Italy and there was no realization among the Italian people as a whole that Italy had been guilty of breaking her solemn pledges. (Complete Story 58-59)

Innes, writing her chapter just one month before Waugh wrote his, strongly supported the use of sanctions to bring an end to the conflict. Waugh did not; he viewed actions by Britons like Innes as "peevish and impotent remonstrance" (Waugh 47).

Italy was an important market for British oil, and this self-interest, Innes argued in Pax International, would prove destructive of attempts to end the dispute: "The hesitation over an embargo on petrol is a lamentable exhibition of the power of vested interests. Here is something not necessary for life, but essential for the army. It might well have been the first embargo and the Powers will be entirely discredited if vested interests triumph" ("Reflections on the War in Ethiopia" 6). She wrote to the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary on January 15, 1936 (WILPFm III:320), expressing much the same opinion:

> Dear Sir,
>
> I am writing on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Women's International League to urge upon you that the British Government should press energetically at Geneva for the imposition of the oil embargo against Italy.
>
> This measure could, we believe, really shorten the war, and while the supply of oil to Italy continues it is to our

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[7] See The Problems of Peace Organisation (1929).

> shame that profits are coming to British citizens, and British-owned petrol is being employed to drive the bombing planes of the Italian army.
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> K.E. Innes
>
> Hon. Secretary

The WIL had been watching events in Abyssinia develop for some time and regularly issued statements, which Innes took responsibility for publicizing, urging the Government to make good on the pledge "that Great Britain wants no economic advantage arising out of the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, and ... will not protect British enterprise in connection with the Oil Concession in Abyssinia."[8] On behalf of the WIL, Innes also urged the Government "to propose to the League an immediate examination of the whole question of the distribution of and access to the world's natural resources, and to ask that the International Labour Office be represented on any body making the examination."[9]

The Government's failure to comply with the WIL's requests for sanctions prompted Innes to write again to the Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden. Just before the 1937 League Assembly was due to meet, Innes pressed the Government "to support the non-recognition of the Italian occupation of Abyssinia," maintaining that "The League has suffered many humiliations at the hands of the Great Powers in recent years, but we earnestly hope that its members will not be invited to inflict upon it this further injury."[10]

Innes's concern over the Italo-Abyssinian war extended well beyond the "larger" issues of economics and national expansion. From one of her confidential sources, she learned that Abyssinian women--in addition to suffering the usual hardships of war--had also to contend with the threat and, in many cases, reality of rape by Italian soldiers. Her source wrote:

> There can unfortunately be little doubt that immoral treatment of Abyssinian women by the Italian soldiery, is one of the ills which characterise present conditions in Ethiopia. Authentic confirmation, however, is unobtainable, because the Italians control all entry by foreigners and all communications with the outside world; while no native dare furnish information for fear of the consequences.[11]

She asked Gertrud Baer, one of the WILPF's Co-Chairmen, to bring the matter to the League of Nations' attention and request an

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[8] Resolution passed by the WIL September 3, 1935. WILPFm III:320.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Kathleen Innes to Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, August 18, 1937. WILPFm II:274.

[11] Qtd in Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, December 17, 1937. WILPFm II:274.

investigation.[12] Innes believed strongly in the need to condemn all aggressive acts. Otherwise, aggression--whether it be against women or against entire nations--would continue unchecked.

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> Meeting in the tense atmosphere of Geneva on September 12th [1935], the [WILPF] International Executive Committee set to work to make the Peoples' Mandate an effective instrument with which to rally the forces of peace.
>
> - Mabel Vernon, Pax International

In September 1935, the atmosphere in Geneva was indeed tense. The World Disarmament Conference had produced no major breakthroughs in disarmament; Germany was re-arming; disputes raged in the Europe, Africa, and the Far East; and the League of Nations endorsed a policy of "limited" re-armament to counter Germany's attempts to unsettle the balance of power. Surrounded by these crises, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Executive Committee met to plan another large-scale education campaign. They hardly expected it to go as well as their World Disarmament Campaign which amassed eight million signatures; nonetheless, they saw the necessity of diverting attention away from violent nationalisms onto something more positive: the peaceful settlement of disputes. The WILPF returned to the forefront of the international pacifist movement in 1935-1937 with the Peoples' Mandate to Governments, conceived by American WILPF member, Lola Maverick Lloyd.

At the September 1935 meeting, the WILPF Executive approved plans for the campaign and established a European Committee to complement the American Committee. French member, Gabrielle Duchêne reminded her colleagues as they prepared to elect the Mandate Committee that they should choose members not "according to personal sympathies but rather according to their qualification for the work."[13] Innes, who attended this meeting as a Consultative member for the British Section, belonged to the nominating committee (along with Clara Ragaz and Duchêne) charged with presenting a slate of possible Mandate organizers. The American Campaign Director, Mabel Vernon, expressed the sentiment of the group when she voiced her "[fear] that these three persons would hesitate to nominate themselves."[14]

Innes was, of course, well-qualified to help lead such a large project, given her experience with the Disarmament Campaign and her ever-increasing circle of friends and contacts throughout Europe, Australasia, Asia, Africa, and North America. WILPF colleagues also appreciated her calm, even-handed organizational efficiency, and not too surprisingly put her name on the final list of nominees for the Mandate's "Committee of Seven." She was joined on the list by Quaker colleague and WIL Chairman, Barbara Duncan Harris, who declined the

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[12] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, December 17, 1937. WILPFm II:274.

[13] WILPF Executive Committee Minutes, September 13, 1935. WILPF I-8-4.

[14] Ibid.

nomination until Emily Balch (USA) persuaded her otherwise. Harris agreed to leave her name on the list after Balch's suggestion that she and Innes work "as a team." Innes agreed to the arrangement and both were elected along with Lola Hanouskova (Czecho-Slovakia), Dr. Naima Sahlbom (Sweden),[15] and Thora Daugaard (Denmark). Innes and Harris jointly assumed the chair, as had been suggested by WILPF Executive Committee member Cor Ramondt.[16] Camille Drevet (France), the former WILPF International Secretary whom Genevan authorities had in 1933 threatened with expulsion because of her "Communist sympathies,"[17] had probably the biggest job of all; she was hired to establish and run the European Headquarters Office in Paris and co-ordinate the actions of the large committee.

The British WIL had been thinking about the Peoples' Mandate since the late spring of 1935 but had reservations about the success of work in that country. The ink had barely dried on the overwhelmingly successful British Peace Ballot's final report, and the WIL were worried that any work carried out hastily, using already tired workers, would do more harm than good for the peace movement. The LNU's Peace Ballot,[18] whose unsatisfactory questions inspired Lloyd to suggest that the WILPF compose a more strongly and unequivocally worded petition, had drawn more than eleven million responses from British citizens. The WIL knew

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[15] Chair of the committee on Scientific Warfare which originally put forward the idea for the 1932 World Disarmament Declaration.

[16] WILPF Executive Committee Minutes, September 13, 1935. WILPF I-8-4.

[17] Her crime in 1933--the same year as the Reichstag was burned to the ground allegedly as part of a communist conspiracy--was knowing the French revolutionary writer Henri Barbusse and having once been to Russia. Edith Pye talked with Geneva's Chief of Police, Frederic Martin, about Drevet's expulsion order, and reported: "The fury with which M. Martin expressed himself ... cannot be fully described" (qtd in Bussey and Tims 119). "Miss Pye attempted to explain that the WILPF worked only for peace and disarmament and was in no sense a revolutionary organization. Whereupon M. Martin threatened to turn the League out of Geneva along with Camille Drevet" (119)--an interesting fate for a peace organization housed in the same city as the League of Nations.

[18] The Peace Ballot, actually a survey of popular opinion about League of Nations issues, drew widespread attention and increased popular support for the League. It attracted several pointed criticisms as well. The ballot asked whether Britain should remain in the League, whether there was popular support for the abolition of military aircraft, whether there was public support for economic and non-military and, if necessary, military measures to check aggression. The problem with the questionnaire, critics charged, was that if people had only a faint acquaintance or none at all with the League of Nations, they would have come away from the Peace Ballot confused about what was actually meant by sanctions and collective security and about what actions support for these measures would entail. Many, in fact, came away thinking that in order "to implement a vigorous collective security policy with confidence, [Britain] needed rearmament" (Birn 153).

they could not hope to beat that figure. As Barbara Duncan Harris explained:

> There was a very strong feeling on the Executive that no organisation of public opinion which could be encompassed by the W.I.L. within the next three or four months could register anything approaching this overwhelming expression of public opinion and it was felt that, apart from the personal exhaustion of the Ballot workers, a less dramatic demonstration of public opinion would be definitely harmful after the impression created by the Ballot.[19]

Despite reservations, the WIL did eventually throw themselves into the work after the 1935 British election. The appointment of Innes and Harris to the Joint Chairmanship spurred them on.

In Britain, Innes used her influence as WIL Honourary Secretary and Secretary of the Society of Friends Peace Committee to promote the Mandate just as she had the Disarmament Declaration four years earlier. The WIL took great pains to attract prominent members of the women's movement along with well-known politicians, writers, clergy, and other public figures. Margaret Ashton, Margaret Bondfield, Vera Brittain, George Peabody Gooch, Arthur Henderson, Laurence Housman, C.E.M. Joad, Rt. Rev. Marshall B. Lang (Moderator of the Church of Scotland), Dr. Maude Royden, and Siegfried Sassoon were among those represented on the Mandate's Honourary Council in Britain.[20]

Innes probably spent less time on grassroots campaigning than she had in 1931 and 1932 on the Disarmament Campaign. Because the Mandate grew so quickly, it became expedient to divorce its structure and financing from the WILPF, as had been done in America, so Innes and Harris made fund-raising their priority. Through Innes, the WIL proposed that the Mandate be funded by the newly-established Jane Addams Memorial Fund, which had been created to administer money from Jane Addams's 1931 Nobel Peace Prize money bequeathed to the WILPF in 1935. The WILPF Chairmen wanted to keep the money for a longer-lasting memorial in Addams's name, but agreed that the Mandate and WILPF carry out a joint fund-raising campaign in which donations could be earmarked for use by the Mandate. The WILPF's international journal, Pax International, printed this letter, signed by Gertrud Baer and Clara Ragaz, Joint Chairmen of the WILPF, Barbara Duncan Harris and Kathleen Innes, Joint Chairmen of the People's Mandate, and Sir George Paish, Honourary Treasurer of the Fund.[21]

Financial problems never completely disappeared for the Mandate Campaign; however, the European committee managed well, with most countries funding their own activities. In only six months, the British campaign secured the support of twenty-eight national trades and

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[19] Barbara Duncan Harris to Emily Balch, July 11, 1935. WILPFm IV:200.

[20] See WILPFm IV:199 for the full listing.

[21] Pax International 10.7 (November-December 1935): 1.

educational unions, church, social reform, and pacifist groups.[22] Conspicuously missing from the long list of adherents was the League of Nations Union, which in the 1930s began to support a policy of collective security involving limited rearmament.[23] They therefore balked when asked to support a declaration which unequivocally demanded that governments:

> Stop immediately all increase of armaments and armed forces
>
> Use existing machinery for peaceful settlement of present conflicts and at the first opportunity,
>
> Secure a world treaty for immediate reduction of arms as a step towards complete world disarmament
>
> Secure international agreements founded on recognition of world interdependence to end the economic anarchy which breeds war.[24]

Not all countries under the European Committee used the same method of recording support for the Mandate. In Britain, because of the Peace Ballot's success at gathering individual responses, the WIL thought it prudent not to do the same so soon. They chose instead to secure support from groups and totalled the numbers of people represented by them. Other countries chose to gather individual signatures. Given these various methods of collection, the European Committee decided to compile a "golden book," which would "contain the text of the Mandate in the various languages, and show the number of organizations, of individual signatures, and of meeting and conference auditors that have accepted the text in each country."[25] Although the American Committee

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[22] The list of adherents was as follows: Amalgamated Union of Trade Workers, Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, American Women's Club, Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, British Commonwealth League, Christian Endeavour Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Church of Scotland Ministers' Peace Society, Darwen Weavers and Warpers' Association, General Union of Associations of Loom Overlookers, League of Nations Society of Ireland, National Adult School Union, National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association, National British Women's Total Abstinence Union, National Union of Public Employees, National Union of Sign, Glass & Ticket Writers and Kindred Trades, National Union of Women Teachers, New Church Women's League, Presbyterian Pacifist Group, Rochdale Weavers' Association, Sheffield Wool Shear Workers Trade Union, Socialist Christian League, Student Christian Movement of Great Britain and Ireland, Teachers Anti War Movement, Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's International League, Women's Peace Crusade, Women's World Committee Against War and Fascism (British Section), Wood Green and Southgate Women's Arbitration Committee (WILPFm IV: 200).

[23] Eleanor Moore reports from Australia the same problem experienced the Mandate in that country. WILPFm IV: 200.

[24] Peoples' Mandate to Governments declaration. EGB.

[25] Camille Drevet to Mandate Committee members, January 27, 1936. WILPFm IV:200.

believed the "golden book" to be "entirely inadequate and too sentimental,"[26] the European Committee found the record useful since countries completed their work in dribs and drabs throughout 1936 rather than en masse as they had originally hoped. The book accomplished what timing could not. The wished-for drama of having world-wide, almost-simultaneous press notices about the campaign never happened, so the "golden book" offered in a neat package the collected evidence of several million adherents throughout 28 countries.

Britain completed their solicitations for support in the late spring of 1936 and made arrangements to conduct the final phase of the project: a meeting with Government officials. The 20-strong deputation led by Barbara Duncan Harris would no doubt have preferred to meet with the new British Secretary for Foreign Affairs; however, their meeting with the Under Secretary, Lord Cranborne, received long notices in both the Times and Manchester Guardian.[27] Harris explained to Lord Cranborne:

> It is our intention to unite with the other countries working with the European Committee and to present the records of results from each country to the Assembly of the League of Nations this autumn [1936]. For this purpose we will ask you, when you have heard our speaker, to indicate by your signature in this book that you have received our documents.[28]

For the campaigns outside Britain, Innes and Harris worked just as hard. They called a meeting at The Hague on January 22, 1936, to assess the needs of various countries under their purview, especially those such as Turkey, Rumania, the Baltic nations, and Spain that had no WILPF sections. As Camille Drevet, the Mandate's Secretary in Europe, wrote in a circular letter to members of the committee:

> When examining the different countries, the members of the Committee decided ... to apply to Lucie Dejardin for active assistance in Belgium, to Mme Zweig and Olga Misar in Austria, to Tagore and Ghandi [sic] in India, to Mme Luisi in Latin America, to Mrs. Despard in Ireland, and to renew the request for further addresses from Egypt, Turkey, etc. to Dr. Augsburg and Mme Heymann. (WILPFm IV:200)

The committee cast their net wide; however, those mentioned had supported WILPF initiatives before. Gandhi, for example, signed the WILPF's Disarmament Declaration (WILPFm III:426) probably during his trip to Switzerland in late 1931 to meet with his biographer, the French writer Romain Rolland.[29] The WILPF's close contact with Rolland and his

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[26] Hannah Clothier Hull to Emily Balch, March 13, 1936. EGB.

[27] Both carried the story on July 14, 1936.

[28] Text of speech by Harris during the presentation of the British Mandate results to Lord Cranborne (WILPFm IV: 199).

[29] Innes reviewed Rolland's biography of Gandhi in The Friend (1926). Her review ranged from praise of Rolland's handling of his subject to an assessment of Gandhi's philosophy. She wrote: "Romain

sister, WILPF member Madeleine Rolland, no doubt led to the WILPF's being asked to organize a public meeting for Gandhi in Geneva. They did so on December 10, 1931, a perfect opportunity for him to sign the declaration (Bussey and Tims 110).

The Peoples' Mandate was, in the end, a great success with over ten million adherents not counting those in the Americas, which came in later under the purview of the American committee headed by Mabel Vernon. After so much hard work had made the Mandate a success, Innes thought it especially important that the WILPF hold their regular autumn Geneva Executive Meeting as close to the League Assembly as possible without overlapping, since many members would want to be on hand for the presentation. In a letter of June 23, 1936 Innes wrote to Gertrud Baer: "By-the-by, I made as much fuss as I could last year about the W.I.L.P.F. Executive meeting actually during the League Assembly. Some of us come to Geneva most anxious to be in touch with Assembly happenings and find it invaluable for our work, and I did say I should not come again to the W.I.L.P.F. Executive meetings if they clashed" (WILPFm III:320). And on July 23, she urged the Co-Chairmen to consider the special importance of the 1936 Assembly: "You know the Assembly is to begin on September 21st. and particularly in view of the presentation of the Mandate it seems essential that there should not be a week's gap between the Executive and the opening of the Assembly" (WILPFm III:320). So a few days later, when she learned that the Executive Meeting was scheduled for September 10-14, she disappointedly wrote: "I hope several will be willing to wait the next week in Geneva till the Assembly begins" (WILPFm III:320).

Innes did stay until September 26, when Princess Radziwill of the League Secretariat, and long-time WILPF ally, presented the Mandate's deputation to Dr. Saavedra Lamas, President of the League Assembly. Innes stood alongside Katherine Blake (USA), Mrs. Wilkins (Australia), and representatives from Norway and Czechoslovakia as Camille Drevet (France) handed over the large book of signatories.[30] A sense of completion accompanied that simple act, but work continued in some countries, as the British Section soon discovered: the Lagos Women's League presented them with another 6,000 signatures from the women of Nigeria in September 1937 (Bussey and Tims 147).

As with the 1932 Disarmament Declaration, Innes's organizational skills were put to the test, and she came through splendidly. The campaign placed her not only even more prominently on the international stage, but it secured for her the confidence of WILPF members in many more countries.

Rolland's study of [Gandhi's] life reveals clearly that his greatness lies in an unswerving and fearless loyalty to the truth as he sees it; and that his inspired message is that of a teacher with the vision of a prophet." And she took issue with Gandhi's non-co-operation with the West citing Tagore's criticism: "'To say that it is wrong to co-operate with the West ... is to encourage the worst form of provincialism and can produce nothing but intellectual indigence.'"

[30] WILPF Executive Committee Meeting Minutes, September 10, 1936 (WILPF I-8-7); Bussey and Tims 147.

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> The differences were marked and discussion at times heated, but the end was a compromise fair to both.
>
> - "The W.I.L.P.F. Executive"

The WIL co-operated with numerous other WILPF sections on the Peoples' Mandate Campaign, but they did so on their own terms. Innes and Harris, Joint Presidents of the Campaign in Europe and also Hon. Secretary and Chairman of the WIL in Britain, came up against the seemingly intractable problem of WIL-WILPF relations, which inevitably spilled over into the Mandate Campaign.

Tension between the WIL and WILPF over structure and politics became pronounced during the 1930s. In the spring of 1935, Innes had assumed the WIL Honourary Secretaryship after the acrimonious Annual Council meeting (described in Chapter three) at which both the Honourary Secretary and the Treasurer resigned along with the former President. Her motion, which prompted the resignations, asked the WIL to put their faith in the international body, concentrating not on their differences but on their common goal: to end all war. When Innes appeared at the International Executive Meetings as a Consultative Member, she changed her tune, arguing equally strenuously that the Executive accommodate the WIL's concerns. She and Edith Pye, of like mind on this issue, hoped for the International to return the WIL's gesture of faith by offering concessions.

The tension over structure was but a symptom of greater political differences. Kathleen Courtney, for instance, believed that the International Executive decisions hindered work in the British Section, whose members were often less radical than their French and German counterparts. In a strongly worded statement prepared for the WIL Executive, Courtney charged in 1932 after the World Disarmament Conference had gotten underway:

> The attitude adopted by Headquarters of simply asking for total disarmament has meant that during the progress of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva the W.I.L.[P.F.] has practically no influence at all. Total disarmament is not, as we [the British Section] more than once have pointed out, the question before the Disarmament Conference, and the inability of the W.I.L.[P.F.] to face up to a practical situation has made its work at the Conference for disarmament abortive.[31]

She also pointed to the trouble the WIL had with the original text of the World Disarmament Declaration. The British Section, in the end, produced a slightly altered version for use in Britain, as they had done for the Peoples' Mandate.[32]

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[31] Statement to WIL Executive. Enclosure to letter to Emily Balch, October 24, 1932. EGB.

[32] Innes included the British text of the Peoples' Mandate in her pamphlet Women and War. Basically the difference lay not in the actual demands but in the preamble. The British text ran thus:

> We are determined to end war. War solves no problems. War brings economic misery, needless suffering and death to us and to

Courtney's views on disarmament followed more closely the line taken by the League of Nations Union than by the WILPF, and Innes could not entirely share those views. Innes, in fact, wrote in exasperation to a colleague some years later "wondering whether that [question of collective security and rearmament] won't finish my L.N.U. membership";[33] the LNU put on hold its fight for disarmament in the 1930s--probably a contributing factor in George Innes's resignation as a LNU Organiser in 1937, after working for thirteen years on their behalf. Courtney evinced antipathy to WILPF policy, Innes to LNU policy.

Edith Pye believed, as Innes did, that the stronger the links between the WIL and WILPF, the better. Writing to Jane Addams in 1932, Pye admitted that had she any inkling "that there was more than a possibility that the British Section would withdraw from the international, I should not have accepted a burden [WILPF Co-Chairmanship] which in such a case would obviously become impossible."[34] Pye clearly believed the relationship to be something more than "window dressing" as Courtney called it;[35] she, like Innes, emphasized the WIL and WILPF's common goals rather than their differences.

Innes found the continual disputes to be more distressing as the years progressed. Too much time spent arguing over internal structure meant too little left for the substantive political work. However, the differing opinions about the WILPF Constitution impinged on all political work undertaken by the International. Thus, at the 1934 Congress in Zurich, it became a hotly debated issue. As they had

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our children.

All attention is turned to-day on the war that is in being.

We must prepare for the day when peace will be restored.

We must, in preparation, make effective the opinion of those who would plan a world without war.

We demand that our Governments in common action to fulfil their international pledges: ...

The text passed by the WILPF Executive Committee for use everywhere else read:

We are determined to end war. War solves no problems. War brings economic misery, needless suffering and death to us and to our children.

All the Governments of the world have signed the League of Nations Covenant or the Briand-Kellogg Pact, or even both of them, and have also renounced war as a means of settling international disputes.

Before the threat to the world gives way to chaos,

We demand that our Governments in common action to fulfil their international pledges: ... (EGB; this last text is my own translation from the French)

[33] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, April 15, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

[34] Edith Pye to Jane Addams, June 27, 1932. EGB.

[35] Kathleen Courtney to Emily Balch, October 24, 1932. EGB.

before, some members of the British Section went home feeling betrayed.[36]

In 1936 only a few months into the Peoples' Mandate Campaign, the WIL had reached its limit of tolerance. Writing to Emily Balch, Edith Pye explained:

> ... I am afraid the whole future of our common work, which we thought had more or less settled down, has been raised once again by the action of the two Chairmen [Gertrud Baer and Clara Ragaz] in sending the President of the Council of the League a letter recommending the application of sanctions if Germany did not withdraw from the demilitarised zone before a certain date....
>
> The position of Gertrud Baer and Clara Ragaz in advocating sanctions for treaty breaking, and the putting on of a food blockade, for that is what their demand amounts to, also for treaty breaking, seems to us all quite indefensible.[37]

The WIL objected to placing sanctions on Germany on the grounds that it conflicted with previous Congress resolutions and with the "principles and spirit" of the WILPF; they also objected on the grounds that the Chairmen acted "unconstitutionally" when they sent the letter "without [prior] consultation with the National Sections."[38] As Pye explained to Emily Balch: "This has knocked the bottom out of all our attempts at conciliation with the international point of view. Our Section is absolutely united against a policy of force and bluff in this particular instance.... I think we all believe that now there must be a split."[39]

The WIL were so upset over this issue that they formulated their complaints as resolutions which Innes, as Hon. Secretary, duly passed on to the Chairmen for addition to the agenda of the International Executive Meeting in Prague in April 1936. Her letter seems almost non-committal compared with others conveying resolutions which she unambiguously endorsed; she simply called the Gertrud Baer's attention to the resolutions, warning that "The British Section further gives notice that pending a Congress at which the Constitution shall be considered, no international action of a controversial nature shall be taken without the consent of all Sections." Innes and Pye felt much the same way about the importance of the WIL maintaining cordial relations with the WILPF; however, as Pye said, the WIL was "absolutely united" on this issue, so the deliberate tone of Innes's letter could suggest either her preference to be seen simply as the messenger of unfavourable news, or her disapproval not of the WIL's position, but of their unconciliatory attitude.

"The real tragedy for our League," wrote Pye to Balch, "seems to me to lie in the fact that if we could get rid of the present officers there is no one who could take up the work. I do not know whether we

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[36] See Chapter 3, pages 129-130 above.

[37] Edith Pye to Emily Balch, March 31, 1936. EGB.

[38] Enclosure of British Section resolutions in Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, April 2, 1936. EGB.

[39] Edith Pye to Emily Balch, March 31, 1936. EGB.

could induce Mrs. Innes. She seems to be the only possibility in the circumstances."[40] Innes's long-standing faith in co-operation with the International and her ability to handle similarly intractable situations on the WIL Executive did, as Pye suggested, make her a logical choice for International Co-Chairmanship. The next Congress (at which the WILPF would vote in a new Executive) was, however, almost one year away. In the meantime, Innes, Pye, and Harris did their best to press the WILPF Executive (without much success) to take action only on issues receiving unanimous consent from the Sections.

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> "The Powers breakfasted in Poland" some hundred odd years ago. They have suffered from dyspepsia ever since. Unless popular pressure can bring about a revision of the terms [of the Treaty of Versailles] the homoeopathic cures prescribed by the Peace Treaty bid fair to prolong the disease for another hundred years.
>
> - "Oppressed Minorities"

Pressures on the League of Nations were intense throughout the 1930s, and calls for reform grew in volume and number. Unlike the League of Nations Union, the WILPF had called for major reforms of the League of Nations since its inception and had criticized the Allies' harsh treatment of Germany in the Treaty of Versailles as early as May 1919; they were, in fact, the first international organization publicly to criticize the treaty (Bussey and Tims 31). The Washington Globe ran a story May 14, 1919 headed "Women Condemn Peace Terms," the Washington Star one on May 15 "Women Want League Amended," and the Washington Post ran another on May 16 headed "Hun Voices Sway Women's Congress." The Post reporter complained: "The bitterest indignation was expressed in allied and American peace circles here, tonight over the victory of German and Austrian delegates at the first session of the International Women's Congress at Zurich in putting the congress on record as violently denouncing the peace treaty, and especially the [food] blockade [of Germany], as inhuman and as sowing the seeds of future wars" (WILPF I:D:2).

John Maynard Keynes, who quit Britain's Treaty negotiating team in disgust, soon afterwards published The Economic Consequences of the Peace (1919). In it, he harshly condemned not only the terms imposed on Germany, but also the manner in which the negotiations took place. The American President, Woodrow Wilson, he singled out for special criticism. People assumed that Wilson had thought through the Fourteen Point Plan which he presented at the Paris Conference, so when he capitulated on one after another of the points, it became evident that "the President had thought out nothing; when it came to practice his ideas were nebulous and incomplete. He had no plan, no scheme, no constructive, ideas whatever for clothing with the flesh of life the commandments which he had thundered from the White House" (Keynes 42-43). But if Wilson "had thought out nothing" it was not for want of time: in August 1915, Jane Addams, who had presided over the WILPF's first congress, met with Wilson to discuss the women's contribution to ending the war. Wilson told her that the resolutions passed by the

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[40] Ibid.

congress were "by far the best formulation which up to the moment has been put out by anybody" (qtd in Bussey and Tims 21). These resolutions from 1915 influenced the direction and contents of Wilson's Fourteen Point Plan, yet apparently during the intervening four years he had not given them very deep consideration.[41]

Perhaps the only positive outcome of the Treaty was the foundation laid for the establishment of a League of Nations, an idea that had circulated in England, at least, since early in the Great War by proponents such as William Archer and Leonard Woolf, who went on to publish Innes's books for children explaining the League of Nations. The WILPF had been supportive but not uncritical of the League of Nations since its inception. As Innes explained in one of her books for children: "Ignorant prejudice is the first enemy to progress. Indiscriminate praise is the second" (How LON Works 5). And she added that the League

> can only continue ... and become strong and succeed in its aims, if the people in the different countries take an interest in what is done. This does not mean that we should never criticise what is done; but it does mean that we should think for ourselves what we should like such a League to do to help forward the peace and happiness of all nations, and that we should support the League in its work for these ends. (57)

Since the League's early days, Innes had taken a strong interest in its reform. She was elected in 1924 to be Honourary Secretary of a WIL-sponsored conference on League reform,[42] and she had from the beginning of the League's existence kept well-informed about its work, in the areas of health, labour (and the International Labour Organization), slavery, mandates, traffic in women and children, and human rights. So when the League of Nations decided in the 1930s to conduct a self-examination because of growing criticism of its ineffectiveness, Innes had been thinking of possible reforms for more than a decade.

In 1935 and 1936, League of Nations Societies and peace groups all over the world set to work generating ideas which they could present to their governments in the hope that the suggestions would slowly make their way to the Assembly floor in Geneva. The WILPF placed League Reform on their September 1936 Executive Meeting agenda, and Innes prepared (sometime in the early summer) a 3-page document, "Notes as a basis for discussion on the reform of the League of Nations" for the session. Of help in her deliberations, no doubt, was a series of discussions held at Chatham House in London in 1936 and published as The Future of the League of Nations (September 1936). The series sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs heard addresses by Arnold Toynbee, Norman Angell, Arthur Salter, G.M. Gathorne-Hardy, Harold Nicholson, and John Fischer Williams; discussants included

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[41] As Gabrielle Duchêne told the post-Second World War WILPF Congress: "On sait que le Président Wilson s'est inspiré des resolutions de ce Congress pour l'élaboration de ses fameux Quatorze points." [It is known that President Wilson was inspired by the resolutions of this [1915] Congress for the elaboration of his famous Fourteen Points.] WILPF Conference Proceedings (1946): 139.

[42] WIL Yearly Report for 1924. WIL/BLPES.

Leonard Woolf, H.G. Wells, and Lord Ponsonby. This varied group offered a wide range of perspectives on such topics as the "paramount aim" of the League, the creation and enforcement of peace, and League membership and its obligations.

In the first of these discussions Toynbee argued that the "preservation of our local sovereignty and independence as a national state" was not the primary function of the League; "the reign of law and order" was (Future of the League of Nations 13). He was also of the view that had long been on Innes's mind: "in international law we must be prepared to make sacrifices" (14). H.G. Wells led off the discussion of Toynbee's presentation complaining that President Wilson had ignored the work done by William Archer and others to plan for a League; as a result, the League that was finally established overlooked "world education" for peace and "never exercised even a critical commentary on school books and things of that sort" (16-17). At this point, Woolf (who through his publication of Innes's books had tried to address those areas which the League itself neglected) jumped up to disagree with Toynbee about the primary aim of the League: it was set up to prevent war not establish law and order, he argued. "Whether that means peace is 'our paramount aim' I do not know. At any rate there is little or no prospect of obtaining law and order, security, or justice unless you first obtain peace" (17).

Innes sympathized with the points made by all three men: Toynbee's view of the necessity of establishing law and order, Wells's view of the importance of peace education, and Woolf's view of the need for peace. The opinions may have differed in their specifics but most attending these Royal Institute of International Affairs meetings and, indeed, most peace activists had in common their desire for League reform. Some like G.M. Gathorne-Hardy and John Fischer Williams went so far as to offer concrete suggestions for change by rewriting the League Covenant. Innes also partook in this sort of technical analysis. Her "Notes" which came up for discussion at the WILPF Executive Committee Meeting presented her own revisions of several key League Covenant Articles and suggested specific measures that might induce the USA to join (which it had never done). But before she launched into technical detail, she helpfully categorized the basic attitudes of those in England discussing League Reform:

> 1. Those who wish to loosen its structure and lessen the obligations of members.
> 2. Those who wish to strengthen it by making the obligations more watertight.
> 3. A third group wishes to scrap the present League and start fresh.
> 4. There is also a group which wishes to leave the Covenant as it is.[43]

Innes found herself amongst those in the second category, as she explained to her colleagues:

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[43] "Notes as a basis for discussion on the reform of the League of Nations" 1. WILPF I-8-6. Subsequent references will appear in the text.

> 1. Point 1 can only mean reframing the Covenant to suit the low existing levels of international co-operation - a futile surrender which we cannot accept.
> 2. Pacifists and all peace workers should, it seems to me, resolve to try to strengthen the League as a machine for the avoidance of war. Pacifists will be told it cannot be strengthened unless war is envisaged as a last resort against an aggressor. What can we say?
> 3. As regards the third group (H.G. Wells)-since the League is only a machine, to scrap the present one and start another for use by the same people who have failed to use this one,- (unless they too could be eliminated!) seems no more helpful a suggestion. ("Notes" 1)

About the second point, Innes had several suggestions. "The essence of the League system is not (as both its friends and its enemies sometimes insist) the obligation ultimately to go to war against an aggressor, but the obligation not to resort to war and to refer every quarrel in the first instance to peaceful settlement" (1). Among League "friends" who believed that some wars would still be necessary, she probably had in mind the 1933 Nobel Peace Laureate Norman Angell, whom she and George Innes greatly admired, but who during the 1930s spoke favourably about "collective security" and making the League "really and truly an instrument of mutual defence" (Future 43). Angell argued in his Royal Institute paper ("Is the League in a Position to Create Peace if it is not in a Position to Enforce Peace?") that separating peace from defence would not work (39). "The League was, in fact," he argued, "an effort to solve the problem of defence in the only way in which it can be solved, namely by collective action in supporting some common rule of conduct, generally acceptable" (43).

Innes took issue with this line of thinking because it entailed amassing more weaponry. "The League cannot hope to function properly in a fear-ridden world," she wrote. "The piling up of arms is both a sign and cause of this fear. The vicious circle must be broken by getting back to disarmament. To secure this we must get plans for the internationalisation of civil aviation" ("Notes" 1), because "if military aviation is to be abolished, civil machines might be adapted for bombing in case of a conflict. A passenger aeroplane could thus be adapted in a few hours, and as civil aviation will certainly not be abolished, if the abolition of military and bombing aircraft is to be effective some way out of the difficulty must be found" (Prevention of War 20).

The British Government had in March 1933 and January 1934 urged upon the Disarmament Conference "the total abolition of military and naval airforces coupled with the effective supervision of civil aviation to prevent its misuse for military purposes." And Innes watched, in her role as the WILPF's "Air Referent," as the Conference let "the whole matter ... quietly drop[]." She urged colleagues in the Society of Friends and WILPF to pursue the question as a means of reducing fear, especially in light of the fact that "a large number of Governments have consistently given support in the Disarmament Conference to proposals for total abolition [of military and naval aircraft]." "When Governments have so frequently declared the abolition possible, the

Peace Societies seem rather asleep not to have seized on it long ago," she wrote in 1935.[44]

At the September 1936 WILPF Executive Committee, Innes also complained that "Governments aiming at peace frequently act in a way that fosters fear - and fear leads to war and aggression. The desire for domination and the search for prestige have psychological causes. A scientific study of these causes should be made and urged on every Government" ("Notes" 1).[45] Governments and the League of Nations fed rather than allayed peoples' fear, with their proclamations about the necessity of being in a position to "enforce" peace. Rearmament and isolationist policies rather than the solidification of international relations would follow, Innes argued.

The WILPF Executive in 1936 discussed her proposals along with various others prepared by national sections. They took no vote on the issue of League reform, since at that point they were simply gathering ideas. They did, however, feel that a full discussion by the WILPF Congress was warranted, so recommended it as an agenda item for their next congress to come up in Luhacovice, Czechoslovakia in 1937.

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> ... in such a great cause, to fritter away one's energies by opposing those who use different methods, but whose object is the same, is to be guilty of a great betrayal in the face of a great opportunity.
>
> - "Progress Towards Peace"

The 1937 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Congress had a full agenda, and the discussion "Towards a real League of Nations" was the single largest item, scheduled for one and a half days of a five day congress. Delegates spent one day discussing the current political situation in Spain, India, China, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria and debating neutrality, the protection of human rights, amnesty of political prisoners, and women's equality. They spent the other two and a half days on routine "housekeeping" issues, resolutions, elections, and internal WILPF matters--namely the constitution.

During the discussion on the League of Nations, Innes presented the British Section's contribution. She reiterated for the benefit of the 149 delegates attending from 19 countries the point she had made at the September 1936 Executive Committee: "more attention ought to be given to Art. 19 of the [League] Covenant, i.e. to methods of peaceful change."[46] She also "suggest[ed] that the W.I.L.P.F. give more attention to the Mandate system." As the Congress Minutes recorded, "The speaker [Innes] does not agree that, as it was suggested, Great Britain should just walk out of her Colonial possessions, because it is quite certain that

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[44] Kathleen Innes to Emily Balch, January 1, 1935. WILPFm III:320.

[45] After the Second World War, Innes reiterated her pre-war comment that the psychological causes of fear should be more fully examined. "A survey of the international political and economic situation--the psychological side," 1946 WILPF Congress Report 135.

[46] WILPF Congress Minutes (1937): 8. WILPFm I:D:9.

someone else would walk in at once. The Mandate system might therefore be necessary as an intermediary step in the development of the colonial countries towards freedom and independence."

This controversial suggestion met with stiff opposition from those who like delegate Anna Tuby, declared that colonial countries should be given their freedom and be allowed to develop on their own. In a discussion on colonial issues, Tuby argued that

> so-called "help" is only a pretext for colonisation. Colonisation means imperialistic war, war of the colonising people against the colonised. The attitude towards colonies can be compared with the attitude towards children. In the past people believed that, in order to educate the child they had to do everything for him. Modern "self-government" rule has shown that the child develops best if he is left to himself. He is not an adult in miniature, but an entirely different being. The same is true for colonial people. Only through their natural resources will they develop. They do not need civilizers, everybody has to civilize himself.[47]

Innes, who was working on the assumption that other colonies were likely to suffer the same fate as Abyssinia, must have admitted that peoples should be allowed to develop freely, but did not waver in her belief that some safeguards be kept in place to ensure that they, indeed, retained the freedom to do so. As she had said in 1919, after the Allied victory: "On the face of it the victory of the Allies gave much greater scope for the working-out of the principle of self-determination than the victory of the Central Powers would have done.... [But] It is a debatable point whether we should ever be thankful when accident allows policy to masquerade as principle" ("Oppressed Minorities"). The sort of paternalistic attitude that fuelled Innes's desire to see the colonies "protected" from other, perhaps more malevolent, forces was responsible for the creation of the Mandate system and continued to be responsible for the widespread support it received in Britain from Leonard Woolf, Innes, and others, for example, in the Union of Democratic Control (Rich 77).

The other League reform suggestions that Innes put forward on behalf of her section caused less of a stir: "League ... membership should be made more worthwhile by giving privileges to members, which they would be sorry to lose" and "it is urgent to work out means and ways for application of economic sanctions, which might be applied at once when an aggressor is determined."[48] After Innes made her presentation she listened closely to the other speakers, for as the "Referent" on the discussion, she was charged with preparing a brief synopsis of the views put forward ("Summary of Discussion on a New International Order" 1937 Conference Proceedings).

The second most important issue to Innes at this Congress was discussion of the WILPF Constitution. In the interests of saving valuable conference time for more substantive political issues, she urged the International Co-Chairmen to allow no "more than one afternoon" for the constitutional talks, and repeated her concern to the

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[47] WILPF Congress Minutes (1937): 11. WILPFm I:D:9.

[48] WILPF Congress Minutes (1937): 8. WILPFm I:D:9.

International Secretary, Lotti Birch.[49] She also sent a letter to all National Sections advising them of the points the British Section would raise during the debate. Their main concerns were that 1. there be "three Chairmen representative of the different tendencies so clearly recognised at our September Executive. Emergency action in the name of the W.I.L.P.F. shall be taken by the agreement between all three when it is clearly in line with W.I.L.P.F. policy"; 2. "In the period between meetings of the Committee, apart from emergencies, action shall be taken on a two thirds majority of the whole Executive, subject to consultation with any national sections affected by the action"; and 3. "The Consultative Members shall have full rights of membership, speaking and voting at all Committee meetings."[50]

Not all sections were as keen as the British to reopen the constitutional debate. So one, the Dutch Section, put forward a resolution "about postponing discussion on the Constitution."[51] Innes urged Clara Ragaz to schedule a vote on the Dutch resolution before Congress became embroiled in debate over actual changes to the constitution, otherwise valuable time might be lost in a fruitless discussion. This was done, and as a result, Congress decided in favour of the Dutch proposal. As Innes explained to her British colleagues in the WIL Monthly News Sheet:

> Partly, because the Agenda was so full, partly, I think, because even in the most progressive organisations, the temptation to leave things as they are to avoid trouble is strong, this [Dutch resolution] was carried 62 votes to 36. It was obvious, however, that feeling in favour of change is very strong now in several sections, and its necessity was voiced especially emphatically by the Scandinavians. Finally, a proposal was made that an official Committee should be set up to bring in proposals to next Congress, for changes in the Constitution. This was carried 66 votes to 26, and the Committee is now in being. Mrs. Duncan Harris is one of its members. ("IXth International Congress of the W.I.L.P.F.")

Even if the British Section's proposals to change the Constitution were not immediately embraced, it did come away from the Congress feeling some satisfaction. When the time came to elect a new International Executive, Innes found herself with a new job. She had been only a Consultative member, now she was a full member of the Executive. Not only that, but at the meeting of the new Executive following the Congress, Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann nominated the two former Co-Chairmen, Gertrud Baer and Clara Ragaz, as well as the newly-elected Kathleen Innes to hold the Joint Chairmanship until next Congress. All three accepted. Emily Balch, who had been the WILPF's first International Secretary was appointed as Honourary President at the Congress, after Jane Addams's death in 1935.

Innes had proved herself to be a dedicated worker and good

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[49] Kathleen Innes to Lotti Birch, May 14, 1937. WILPFm II:274.

[50] Kathleen Innes to WILPF National Sections, November 19, 1936. WILPFm III:320.

[51] Kathleen Innes to Clara Ragaz, June/July, 1937. WILPFm II:274.

organizer, but perhaps more importantly she worked well on committees. She stuck firmly to her principles yet not to the point of petulant revolt if a decision did not go her way. Her appointment provided the British Section some consolation (as had Edith Pye's appointment as Co-Chairman in 1932) that their views would be taken seriously by the leaders. Conversely, her appointment assured international members that they were getting another open-minded, multi-lingual leader who valued conciliation and co-operation over polemics and confrontation and who, like Baer and Ragaz, could understand the basis of misunderstandings that often resulted from language barriers.

These qualities and skills would, indeed, be in demand over the next few years. Innes had been appointed not only at a very difficult period in the WILPF's history, but in world history as well. She could not have known that she would be responsible with Baer and Ragaz and their International President Emily Balch for leading the world's largest feminist pacifist organization through the Second World War.

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> Throughout the world there is a tendency to excuse the most immoral acts of aggression--even to the atomic bomb, by rationalising explanations of how its use shortened the war, saved lives in the end, will be perpetrated by others and so on.
>
> And, from our [WILPF] point of view, the danger is this--this rationalisation will lead to its use in a future war, which will be accepted because quite nice people in every land think these arguments convincing.
>
> - "A survey of the international political and economic situation"

In 1937, after their appointment as International Co-Chairmen, Innes, Baer, and Ragaz sent letters, telegrams, and copies of resolutions to Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini, other world leaders, peace groups, and delegates to the League of Nations. Their primary goals of seeing peaceful settlements to disputes and achieving complete disarmament, they knew, looked hopeless. The Spanish Civil War raged on, and in Britain, the Illustrated London News carried picture after picture of the devastation. Only two weeks before the Congress met in Czechoslovakia to discuss the need for the abolition of military aircraft, the annual French Fête Nationale "was celebrated with the traditional military review" which drew thousands of spectators whose "greatest interest" centred on the 500 aeroplanes flying in formation overhead and, on the ground, on the long procession of military machinery that concluded with a motorcade of 200 tanks.[52] Meanwhile, the Japanese renewed with considerable vigour their attacks on China.

Two years after the Congress--a period filled with exceedingly tense political situations--world war once again became a reality. The day before the Fall WILPF Executive Committee Meetings, the three chairmen were to meet in Geneva. September 3, 1939, however, did not see them sitting around a table in Switzerland. Instead, all watched as Britain declared war on Germany. Since governments imposed tighter restrictions on travel and most train and boat traffic was severely

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[52] The Illustrated London News: Marching to War, 1933-1939: Summer 1937.

curtailed, the Executive rescheduled their meeting for December. Innes, with some special pleading to Lord Halifax, arranged for a visa to travel to this event.[53] The Executive did meet, for five days in December, just as determined as the WILPF founders in 1915. Their agenda allowed time to discuss the preparations for peace and planning of an international conference of women at the place of the eventual peace conference (as they had tried to do after the First World War).[54] They explored how they might collaborate with other peace and disarmament groups, and they talked about refugee work and wartime broadcasting.

Innes had edited the WILPF's journal Pax International since 1938 (possibly earlier) and at the meeting grudgingly announced that she would have to resign as Pax editor because of wartime mailing problems and registration difficulties in Britain. A neutral country, she suggested would probably make a better go of publishing the journal regularly. Clara Ragaz (Switzerland) took over in 1940, but the war soon put an end to the journal all together. Freedom of the press had, through outright bans or simple complications, become another casualty of the war. By 1940 with the cessation of Pax, the war had eaten away almost every means of international mass communication open to the group except one: the mail. Gertrud Baer, who moved the International Headquarters to the USA, compiled circular letters that were distributed in place of Pax to give WILPF members news from other countries. The German and French Sections were the most difficult to keep in touch with, but Innes did manage to maintain fairly regular communication with sections in Sweden, Switzerland, the British Dominions and the USA.[55] Baer and Ragaz also maintained what contact they could with friends around the world, and together the three chairmen, under great odds, held the international organization together.

War kept them apart for six years: Gertrud Baer in the USA, Clara Ragaz in Switzerland, and Innes in England. In late summer of 1945, Innes, Baer, and Ragaz met, in London, for the first time since December 1939 and began planning for the long overdue Congress. Their frustration and resignation to the war came through in the joint report they prepared for the 1946 WILPF Congress:

> As we worked on the preparation of this Congress and discussed other problems it was hard to understand how we had been able to go along each in her place separated by thousands of miles

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[53] Innes wrote to Gertrud Baer: "You will ... be glad to hear that Lord Halifax has very kindly helped us with our French & Swiss visas for Geneva, & there will be no difficulty - so you can count on Mrs. Duncan Harris & myself for the 4th to 8th - & possibly either Miss Harrison & Mosa Anderson" (November 9, 1939; WILPFm II:283).

[54] Their second congress was to be held concurrently in the same city as the formal peace talks. Paris was settled upon for the treaty negotiations; however, this precluded the WILPF from meeting in the same city because their "delegates from the Central Powers would not be permitted to enter France" (Bussey and Tims 29).

[55] "International Joint Chairmen's Report to the first W.I.L.P.F. Post War International Congress at Luxembourg, August 4-9, 1946." Proceedings of the WILPF Congress (1946): 45.

> and without any adequate or satisfactory communication possible. It had to be done--but we had to resign ourselves to political inactivity in the international field at a time when international action was most wanted--a situation which made life at times intolerable. (45)

No one could predict what would happen at the 1946 Congress. The level of violence suffered by civilians was far worse during the Second World War than it had been during the First with the execution of millions of Jews, pacifists, and others by Germany and the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the Allies. Nine years of national isolation brought great uncertainty about how individuals and whole sections would get along; moreover, the constitutional debates had not yet been resolved. In light of the hardships the international peace organization had been through, the last thing the Co-Chairmen wanted to see transpire was a renewal of debates that would lead to further bitterness and hostility. In a jointly written address, they, therefore, sketched their view of what the WILPF stood for and what the future might hold for the organization.

> Above all we want to avoid any kind of international centralism which would allow too much power in an international center and office and might eliminate diversity and initiative among members. But we ought to be just as eager to do away in the organisational set up and in our policy with those national, yes, sometimes even nationalistic emphases which in the last analysis often resemble or even spring from the same roots as isolationism and anarchy.
> ... The three Chairmen are fully conscious of the fact that they themselves have not lived in Nazi or Fascist occupied areas during that time [the last fifteen years] though one of them has gone through the shocks of attacking Nazi bombing of England. They recognize that the main stimuli and suggestions for action ought to come from our courageous coworkers who braved occupation and terror while upholding the ideals of democracy and freedom and the faith in the triumph of the light. (51-52)

Innes, Baer, and Ragaz posed the difficult question on the minds of many to Congress: should the WILPF continue? The Congress committee who set the agenda scheduled discussions of this question and of the constitution amongst the final items of business.

Among the first business items were Gertrud Bussey (USA), Gabrielle Duchêne (France), and Innes speaking on "World Co-operation: A survey of the international political and economic situation." Innes at first considered withdrawing her name but then chose to approach politics and economics from a psychological angle. The national(istic) tendencies even among pacifists, Innes argued, resulted from fear, and certain "psychological facts" common to all were the root cause of failure in "the political and economic fields."[56] "We all have aggressive instincts (to put it no more strongly) which we learn and actually

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[56] "A survey of the international political and economic situation--the psychological approach." WILPF Conference Proceedings (1946): 135-6.

desire to control for the good of society as a whole," she told listeners. As well, "Emotionally--we are all strongly prejudiced in our own favour--evading facts which tell against ourselves and in that self-defence prone to exaggerate the faults of others. This has been called by a modern psychologist 'the law of inevitable prejudice' and it is of universal application (Raynerd West)" (136).

> Translating these two points into political or economic terms--(1) desire to dominate others for one's own ends is a common human characteristic, and (2) no one is fit to be, or indeed ever able to be, a judge in his own cause. For the first reason, community control of some sort is essential, and for the second, an organ of impartial judgment, with power to implement its decisions is required. (136)

Innes went on to explain the importance of recognizing the unpleasant facts of one's own national(istic) tendencies and especially of recognizing it of mass media, "which on the whole, even in normal times, supports national prejudices by its propaganda of selection and omission" (137). She concluded on a note of caution: "The desire for power and the partisan prejudices of everyone of us and of every nation must be forestalled and circumvented, or war--perhaps the war which will end our civilisation--will come" (138).

None of the Co-Chairmen stood for re-election. Innes, by 1946 had firmly ensconced herself in her Hampshire home 60 miles from London and admitted that she would not be able to maintain a hectic pace in international or national politics. After her resignation as WILPF Co-Chairman and as the British Section's Honourary Secretary, at the age of sixty-three, Innes was accorded the honour of being made an International Vice-President as well as a WIL Vice-President. She humbly and gladly accepted these honours on the condition that she not be expected to devote quite so much of her time as she had during the past thirty years. By 1946, Innes had her hands full with activities in St. Mary Bourne.

Although Innes, Baer, and Ragaz did not stand for re-election, all thought the WILPF should continue but kept their opinions to themselves, leaving Congress delegates to debate the issue. A member of the Dutch Section, Miss J. Repelaer van Driel, put forward the proposal to dissolve arguing that the need for a special women's peace movement had passed; Mildred Olmstead (USA) proposed continuance.[57] Congress delegates, who received a telegram from George Bernard Shaw stating "Convinced that the world would never be properly governed until 50 percent of its rulers were women," "overwhelmingly defeated" the motion to dissolve (Bussey and Tims 188). Before the end of 1946, the WILPF's decision to continue was vindicated. Emily Balch--their President through the war--was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.[58]

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[57] WILPF Executive Committee Minutes, July 31, 1946. WILPFm I:D:10.

[58] This was the second to go to a WILPF President; Jane Addams had been the first. Since Addams and Balch were the only two international presidents throughout its thirty-year history, the WILPF had not a bad record.

Chapter 6
Life in a Hampshire Village, 1938-1967

> Meanwhile the countryside remains.... And some familiar faces; it is good to find these again after years of absence.
> - Life in a Hampshire Village

The same year that Kathleen Innes became one of the three International Co-Chairmen of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, she and her husband purchased a house in St. Mary Bourne. George Innes resigned in 1937 from his position as an Organizer for the London Federation of League of Nations Unions, and Kathleen had passed the Secretaryship of the Society of Friends Peace Committee to Karlin Kapper-Johnson. So, with work in London making fewer demands, Innes was anxious to get back to the village of her childhood.

The couple purchased a bungalow, which they converted into "a two-storeyed house in brick and tile and partly tile-hung," on a large tract of land in the southeast section of the village.[1] The office and library space in their Welwyn Garden City home was inadequate, as Innes confessed to a colleague: "I am living at the moment in a house where there is no room for storing" (St. Mary Bourne Records 16). They looked forward to a larger house than the one they had in Welwyn Garden City, and they knew that they soon would need a house able to accommodate George's ageing father. The newly-renovated "Portway," so-called after an ancient Roman road intersecting their property, proved ideal.[2]

They furnished Portway sparsely with heavy furniture moved from their Garden City home (Cooper, Interview). Pictures of Beatrice and Sidney Webb and Gilbert Murray and the picture given Kathleen Innes by Fridtjof Nansen counted among the few decorative touches to grace Portway's rooms (Dawes, Interview; R. Young, Interview). Their ever-expanding library also got a new home: "books are lying about everywhere here. Why are so many written!"[3] Innes joked to a friend as she unpacked. Everything they owned, it seemed, had either a specific use or a particular symbolic value. Yet, in spite of the efficient functionality of their house, it did not convey a feeling of stark severity, rather of simple hominess. On cool evenings George Innes kept a small peat fire glowing in the grate (a carry-over from his Scottish upbringing), while the comforting strains of the missel-thrush could be heard in the trees outside.

Long walks in the countryside and life in rural areas held tremendous appeal for Innes. Even the pleasant Garden suburb of London could not match the "unspoilt rural English scenery, delicate as ours in colouring, lovely in the manifold patterns of its fields, varied with

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[1] Kathleen Innes to Lotti Birch, November 25, 1937. WILPFm II:274.

[2] George Innes's father, George Donald Innes, moved in with them probably sometime in 1939. He remained with them until his death in 1946 at the age of 89.

[3] Kathleen Innes to Lotti Birch, March 25, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

river valleys, ancient forest, and impressive downs."[4] In spring,

> By the time the catkins are over the "pussy willow" is golden, and the earth is green; primroses and anemones form a carpet below, followed by dog-violet and bluebell, whose green spikes of leaves precede even the primroses.... The faint earthy scent of the primrose must be sought in humility close to the ground, but once known and loved its scent, anywhere, with shut eyes, carries one back to a wood as gay as the one trodden over by Botticelli's Spring. The bluebells scent the air. The combination of scents and colours, with the spring song of the birds, makes a complete, unforgettable harmony, to isolate any note of which is to lessen the beauty. It is better to sit and soak in all than to pluck and try to carry away what can be carried. (Life 6)

Nothing could match the countryside in spring. In her poem "The Call of April," probably written shortly after their move into Portway, Innes implicitly challenged city dwellers to hear and see the signs of spring, which in the country one cannot but notice:

> When you wake, you city dwellers
> As the slow dawn light comes creeping
> Through the waking city noises
> Do you hear the young birds cheeping
> cheeping?
>
> When you catch a glimpse above you
> Of the April scuds a racing
> In a vision o'er far wood slopes
> Do you see cloud shadows chasing
> chasing?
>
> When the sun athwart the pavements
> Lingers where the lime is growing
> Neath the thrill of green that answers
> Do you see the Bluebells blowing
> blowing?
>
> When there comes a lull to labour
> As the twilight shadows are falling
> From hills bathed in western glory
> Do you hear the cuckoo calling
> calling?

At the first hint of spring warmth Innes moved her work outside. If she felt like it, she tended the garden, although it was regularly cared for by their gardener;[5] at other times, she would go outside

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[4] Life in a Hampshire Village 1. Hereafter cited as "Life" in text.

[5] The Inneses employed a gardener as well as a maid the whole time they lived in Portway. From one former employee of the Inneses, a maid, I learned that the couple were very good employers, who apparently

simply to read and write, as she had since her youth. Not until a wintry chill descended on the village did she resign herself to evenings of study inside. Given the amount of time she spent outside, she and George invested in a small summerhouse--reputedly, an exact replica of George Bernard Shaw's (J. and A. Isherwood, Conversation). This curiosity, which to this day remains on Portway's lawn, sits on a turntable and can be rotated to track the sun. There, in the tranquillity of her summerhouse, Innes wrote not only articles on international affairs, but also poetry and books that extolled the beauty and recounted the history of St. Mary Bourne, books such as St. Mary Bourne Records (1947), Village Story (1955), and Bourne Valley Anthology (1963).

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> history is being written now... it stretches forward into the present and future as back into the past...
>
> - "Recording Village History"

More than young birds, racing clouds, and delicate flowers attracted Innes to St. Mary Bourne. Like many English villages, St. Mary Bourne had a long and interesting history, unique, perhaps, in that it had been recorded in the massive volume, A Parochial History of St. Mary Bourne, by Dr. Joseph Stevens. Not only had Innes once lived in Dr. Stevens's old house, but she had cherished since childhood two archaeological finds that he left in the garden: "a huge prehistoric ammonite from some neighbouring chalk pit and a large iron cannon ball in its sling ... [which] was said to have been used in the Civil Wars" ("Dr. Stevens at St. Mary Bourne"). In that very garden Innes no doubt experienced her first tangible brush with history, one which whetted a life-long interest.

Innes marvelled that centuries after the ancient Roman road from Old Sarum to Silchester was built this "line of the metalled Portway can be traced in the cornfields by the colour of the growing corn,"

> and in the latter half of last century a farmer of the fields above Derry Down found, on deciding to grub out the material, that the foundation of the road was solid flints, a square with 24 feet sides producing--Dr. Stevens reports--12 cartloads.

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practised what they preached: both, but especially George Innes, had lobbied since at least the early 1900s for better labour conditions for members of the working class. Gladys Cooper, their maid in the early 1940s recalled that when Kathleen Innes learned that Gladys was getting married, she mail-ordered a down-filled duvet as a wedding present. When it came Innes told Gladys that she was too embarrassed to give something of such poor quality and offered Gladys the duvet off her own bed. Kathleen Innes's gifts were, characteristically, practical--the duvet, a cookbook and a book of household hints, which Mrs. Cooper said received much use (Interview).

The gardener lived in a small cottage built by the Inneses for him and his wife on the perimeter of Portway's grounds, and after Kathleen's death, George Innes apparently gave them the cottage just before he moved out (J. and A. Isherwood, Conversation).

> Ramblers in Derry Down copse can still trace the line of the road along banks of flints. (Village Story 2-3)

Derry Down copse, not far from the Inneses home to the southwest, became one of Kathleen Innes's favourite wandering grounds. She would roam up the footpath leading along the edge of the copse to take in the spectacular view of Portway nestled just near the perimeter of the village to the north. Today, along the footpath sits a weather-beaten twenty-eight-year-old bench bearing a small metal plaque inscribed with Innes's name, birth and death dates, put there in honour of her contribution to village life.[6]

Following in Dr. Stevens's footsteps, Innes took upon herself the task of interesting other villagers in their history, which she reminded them "did not end when Dr. Stevens published his famous study in 1888."[7] The combined efforts of several women produced the material from which Innes compiled St. Mary Bourne Records: Notes on Events, 1896-1946.[8] Over the next twenty years, Innes and her group annually compiled items of local interest which she reported to her Women's Institute. As she told BBC radio host Victor Bonham Carter during a broadcast on Dr. Stevens: "There, suggestions are made of additions of possible interest to some social historian 100 years hence. The whole is filed year after year in a flat folder. We hope the contents will be of value as a village record, to some Dr. Stevens of the future." And as Victor Bonham Carter commented at the broadcast's close, "had the original Dr. Stevens been alive today, nothing would have pleased him more [than] that his work is being continued, and his book kept up-to-date" ("Dr. Stevens at St. Mary Bourne").[9]

Innes's BBC interview carried her message about the importance of recording local histories well beyond the confines of her own village. So did her article in the Hampshire Review (Summer 1950) five months previously.
"Recording Village History: An experiment in St. Mary Bourne" used the work of Bourne residents as an example of how others might begin their own local histories.

> A few comments may be made on the results of experience. (1) Names and exact dates should always be given; it is astonishing

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[6] See the photographs of the bench and the view of the village from the spot where it sits. As I was taking these photographs a woman, also on a Sunday stroll, greeted me and asked if I were taking pictures of the flora. When I told her I was actually more interested in the bench, Pansy Heath began to tell me about Innes--all she had done for the village and of her great love of nature, with a special fondness for birds. Memories of Innes obviously still thrive in pockets of St. Mary Bourne.

[7] "Prefatory Note," St. Mary Bourne Records.

[8] Hereafter this work will be cited as "Records" in the text.

[9] "Dr. Stevens at St. Mary Bourne." An unfortunate note must be added here. Innes's yearly reports were supposedly forwarded to the County Archivist in Winchester; however, the Hampshire Record Office today has no record of them.

> how soon these are forgotten. Even at the end of one year there is often discussion about these at the meeting of the group. (2) It is better to record too much than too little. Let the future historian decide what to discard; he cannot fill in what is omitted. (3) Our group has been composed of women only, for the practical reason that it was easier to meet in the afternoon, but the wider the interest the better and others might manage to get a more representative group. (4) The recording will not stop there. Already we have ideas of a village museum containing things of strictly local interest, and the collection of these has begun almost of itself. During the war a great deal that was of interest was destroyed in one way or another. It is wise to begin at once to preserve what remains. ("Recording Village History" 74-75)

Her group, she wrote, broke their research down under specific headings, and different individuals took responsibility for collecting information on one or more of the areas. Pictures, archaeological finds, unusual weather conditions, village events: all provided fare for hungry local historians and would be invaluable to future social historians.

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It is a really dreadful world.
- Kathleen Innes to Clara Ragaz

On March 11, 1938, when Innes was in the throes of moving, the Nazis marched into Vienna. The disparity between her own life in a tranquil village and her Austrian friends' uncertain future gave her great cause for anxiety. "Poor Frau Zweig!" Innes wrote to Co-Chairman Clara Ragaz; "I feel simply dumb at the moment about events in Austria."[10] Fredericka and Stefan Zweig, whom she had known since 1920, fled to England shortly after the Nazis took over Austria, and later they settled in Brazil.

With storm clouds over Europe growing ever darker and more foreboding, Innes came to realize that peace societies could do little in the face of Fascism and expressions of violent nationalism. Her response to Austria's fall was simply: "There seems nothing practical to urge for a peace society, and I am not going to force a proposal out of feeling that we ought."[11] One year later (in March 1939) in response to Germany's annexation of Moravia and Bohemia (Czech Republics), Innes repeated herself: "I feel absolutely confused as to any possible suggestions of action that would be any good, & I feel it is better for a few days to do nothing than to propose actions right in themselves but quite ineffective. There may for the moment be nothing a peace society can do.... I suppose my feeling is the equivalent of yours that something has died,"[12] she wrote to Gertrud Baer.

Innes was not alone in her confusion and feeling of helplessness, for by 1939, most people took for granted the inevitability of another

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[10] Kathleen Innes to Clara Ragaz, March 12, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, March 20, 1939. WILPFm II:283.

full-scale war. A "sense of crisis, of powerful and active evil at work in the world dominated consciousness in ... the last full year of peace, and appeared everywhere in the written record of those days--in poems and novels and plays as well as in private letters and in Times leaders" (Hynes, Auden Generation 296-7). For peace workers, the crisis was particularly distressing because they had watched the League of Nations gradually lose all its political power.

Reports of politically motivated executions in Germany and Russia and Germany's invasion of Czechoslovakia (which prompted the remark that "something had died") horrified WILPF members. Underlying these actions was not the "will to peace" that they had spent years trying to cultivate, but a "will to war" (Prevention of War 6). On behalf of the WILPF, Innes drafted a letter of protest to Stalin about the executions knowing full well that it would prove as fruitless as WIL members' various appeals to Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, though "it at least expresses opinion ... [and] may influence--& what else is there to do in that direction?"[13]

Since the bellicose spirit which prevailed in Russia related more directly to the suppression of social and political opinions than to disarmament--the WILPF's primary focus through the 1930s--Innes tried to find a way of presenting their broad range of concerns. "Herewith a draft of the Russian letter," she wrote to Baer. "Like you, I couldn't see any logical connection between disarmament & the executions, so I brought in the social reforms as a hook to hang things on!"[14] The letter--signed by Gertrud Baer, Clara Ragaz, and Innes--began with praise of Russia's track record regarding proposals "for the establishment of peace and for disarmament [which] have always been specially appreciated and supported by this organisation."[15]

> On the other hand, we have felt deeply concerned at the repetition of, and the recent increase in, the death sentences in the trials for treason which have taken place.
>
> It is difficult for those who sympathise with many of the social and humanitarian aims of your great country to interpret this severity as in conformity with them.[16]

If a modicum of praise could help open a door even a crack, Innes willingly provided this conciliatory gesture. Some continental Europeans charged British members with having a rosy, unrealistic view of the world, because they were far removed from the immediate horrors

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[13] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, April 12, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

[14] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, January 9, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

[15] Clara Ragaz, Gertrud Baer, and Kathleen Innes to Mr. Stalin, January 20, 1938 (WILPFm I:A:65). Maxim Litvinov, who signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 on behalf of Russia and was strongly supportive of the League of Nations, was held in high regard by many WILPF members. He was dismissed by Stalin in 1939 before the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed.

[16] Clara Ragaz, Gertrud Baer, and Kathleen Innes to Mr. Stalin, January 20, 1938. WILPFm I:A:65.

of life in occupied territories and under severely repressive regimes.[17] Some like Innes, however, who had friends all across Europe, had few illusions about the situation. Her letter to Stalin did contain praise of Russia's past disarmament efforts, yet in a 1929 review of a collection of Soviet historical documents relating to peace Innes recognized

> that a good deal of the Soviet's less pacific activity is ignored, and that its motives are not quite as disinterested as these pieces of special pleading imply, but the book gives us a very interesting collection of historical documents which make, unlike many such, quite fascinating reading. ("The Soviet and Peace")

Innes was, in fact, as wary of Stalin as she was of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco. "I fully agree with those who hold we should protest against oppression & political imprisonments etc. whoever is committing the crimes, & work against 'war & dictators' rather than merely against 'war & Fascism.'"[18] Two months later she reiterated this belief: "It is an awful world--& I hate the whole lot of Dictators whatever their aims or views!"[19]

In 1938 the Czechoslovakian President Edvard Beneš, highly regarded by the WILPF, was thrust into the untenable situation of having to choose between "peacefully" giving in to Hitler's demand for control of the Sudetenland or fighting Hitler. The Munich Conference (29 September 1938)--which brought together British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, French Premier Edouard Daladier, Hitler, and Mussolini--sealed Czechoslovakia's fate. Czech and Russian delegates were not invited, and Germany gained most of its demands, so Beneš could do little but concede without Britain's and France's support.

Innes initially greeted this turn of events with admiration for Beneš and guarded optimism that a full-scale European war might yet be averted. She wrote to Gertrud Baer on October 1, 1938 (as German troops moved into Czechoslovakia):

> While no one can be happy over the present situation, I can't help feeling it is better than a war. It at least gives another breathing space for the introduction of a little sanity into world affairs. Beneš & Czecho-Slovakia have in my view been simply <u>magnificent</u>. Beneš is really the man who has saved the world from war, & one day he will get the credit the others are all taking.
>
> Now we ought to push again for disarmament, for the recognition of pledges not to fight, & for world organisation in economic reconstruction.
>
> ...
>
> What about another letter to Beneš--simply thanks for his

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[17] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, April 12, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

[18] Kathleen Innes to Lotti Birch, November 25, 1937. WILPFm II:274.

[19] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, February 4, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

> deliberate sacrifice for the avoidance of a world catastrophe & the hope that he may stand out in history as the man who saved Europe from disaster, & that his country may live more safely in consequence than if it had taken arms? Perhaps you won't feel like this. I don't press it if you don't_ Or perhaps our Czech section, who would have to be consulted are too sick to contemplate it.

Innes did draft letters both to Beneš and to the women of Czechoslovakia in which she praised their sacrifice:

> No expression of optimism has availed to influence the course of events, except in one direction. All the peoples concerned were so horrified to find themselves on the brink of war, that all shrank back & accepted as a respite from which every nation must benefit, the avoidance of that overwhelming tragedy. It seems presumption to express to you our deep sympathy we indeed feel.
>
> We can only give voice to the sincere hope that the sacrifice accepted by your country rather than plunge Europe into the abyss of war, may bring her with the friendship & trust of other countries, a safety & true prosperity which cannot in the moment of darkness be foreseen.[20]

By October 13, Innes realized that despite Czechoslovakia's sacrifice Hitler had not been appeased and Britain's hand in the concession was not at all honourable. "[O]ne realises daily more & more the awful results of Chamberlain's 'Peace with honour' (sic). I feel we may really now be rushing down the steep place to the destruction of our civilisation--& then I at once add to myself 'And if we were all in a war we should be too_'"[21] Truly a dilemma. More than once, Innes felt that nothing the WILPF could suggest would be "of any immediate use--except things a pacifist society can't urge."[22] Germany would gain territory with or without war--either way it would expand.

What else to do about the situation left her grasping for ideas. The WILPF, she asserted in 1938 as she had in 1920, was not a relief organization. Their one foray into relief activities, though highly successful, took time away from their political lobbying. No one knew this better than Innes herself, who had co-ordinated with Mrs. Ayrton Gould the collection and transport of 1 million rubber nipples for German mothers too starved to feed their babies after the food blockade of Germany following the First World War (Randall 263; Swanwick 315-316). As Helena Swanwick, President of the British Section wrote in her autobiography: "The W.I.L. had made it a rule not to branch off from its educative work into relief--a sore temptation in those days--and, though we never regretted this exception, we never repeated it" (315-316). The

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[20] Draft letter by Kathleen Innes to Czechoslovakian women written on back of letter dated 3 October 1938. WILPFm I:A:67.

[21] The "(sic)" is Innes's touch. Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, October 13, 1938. WILPFm I:A:67.

[22] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, April 12, 1938. WILPFm 1:A:66.

WILPF itself, Innes maintained, worked for political and social change, and although it may seem "little,"

> there are undoubtedly times when those not willing to use certain means must require that their main task is the keeping firmly to ideals & principles - & in a world where most despise them, that is <u>not</u> nothing.
>
> It might help more than we think too, if Hitler realised England was showing practical sympathy for Cz-Sl.[23]

While Innes felt there were few practical measures the WILPF could take, there was plenty for individuals to do either singularly or within other organizations. Several British WIL members helped refugees find homes and work in England; Innes, too, lent a hand. As she wrote to Gertrud Baer: "I hope I shall be able to get to a Chairmen's Meeting, & don't mind whether it is in Brussels or Paris_ All that would prevent is--a change of maid on Dec: 17th!--and I have put in to take a Jewish maid from CzechoSlov_ --because that is the only way in which I can take a second refugee. She may arrive & have to be looked after before the 17th--& no one but me can talk any German!" Two Czechoslovakian women did spend the war years in St. Mary Bourne, as the local Women's Institute (WI) scrapbook compiled by Innes and other WI members records.

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> It is simply a topsy-turvy world with no standard left.
> - Kathleen Innes to Clara Ragaz

During the 1930s, British media and writers alike fed with increasingly bleak visions the fear that another full-scale war was imminent. Certainly, events in Europe and the Far East did little to promote optimism. Innes saw that Britain's appeasement policy was not working; however, she perhaps hoped (rather than believed) that "reason" would prevail, disputes would be solved through negotiation, and European relations would be set on a new course. Indeed, she kept encouraging friends up until the last minute that war was not inevitable, though it became increasingly likely (Fürstenheim, "How George and Kathleen Innes Helped Us").

Hitler had annexed Austria (1938), the Czechoslovak Sudetenland (1938), and in August 1939 was negotiating with Stalin on a neutrality agreement. The two leaders agreed that if either were invaded by a third party, the other would remain neutral; at the same time they made a secret deal to divide Poland between Germany and Russia. The Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed on 23 August 1939, the same day as Innes wrote to Clara Ragaz: "What possible secret agreement with Germany has Russia made? It is simply a topsy-turvy world with no standard left" (WILPFm I:A:70).

The world would find out soon enough what the agreement meant for Europe: Hitler marched into Poland to take possession of the Polish Corridor, thereby leaving Britain and France to decide whether to honour their pledge to protect Poland from German or Italian attack. Wrote Innes on September 3, the day Britain declared war on Germany: "I am

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[23] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer and Clara Ragaz, April 5, 1938. WILPFm I:A:66.

sorry that my conviction that we should know one way or the other in a few days was right."[24]

The war had in a sense already begun before Britain officially declared its entrance. As early as August 29, 1939, Innes wrote to her Co-Chairmen that "five 'refugees' (British) have arrived from London--an elderly invalid man, a nervy woman, two adults & a child of 3--& (independently) a dog! [Therefore] Unless & until the war is over & they go back I can't leave home" (WILPFm II:283). And by September 2, children from the cities were arriving in the countryside. 150 were scheduled to arrive in St. Mary Bourne "any hour, & I have to help over transport," Innes wrote.[25] She had met Serbian refugees stepping off trains in Salonika in 1915, summer school students arriving from around the globe in Salzburg in 1921, and now she was welcoming refugees to her home village. Some of these children evacuated from the cities remained in the village "for several years. In March, 1944, there were still ten on the [school] register" (Records 12).

Innes temporarily housed many "refugees," but Portway could not permanently accommodate the more than half a dozen people who flocked to its doorstep. Nor would the Inneses have been able to manage with that many people, especially since they were caring for George's elderly father.[26] They also had to keep a close eye on Innes's brother, George Freeman Royds. In the same letter in which she told Gertrud Baer she was trying to help a second Czech refugee, Innes wrote: "Finally, we are at last trying the experiment of taking a house near us for my brother who has been ill so long, & I shall have a strange housekeeper to install & everything to do_____"[27] In the "topsy-turvy world" of 1938 and 1939, family, friends, and organizations made many claims on her time; increasingly these claims conflicted.

Over the 1938 Christmas holiday, Innes was "without a maid--waiting for my Jewish refugee who now can't arrive till mid-January - I am helping to move my brother this week, & I expect two visitors for Xmas.... In addition pipes are frozen & our electric pump may be ruined & burnt out; we are waiting to know!"[28] Even when her brother was installed in his new house, all was not well, for in just a few months Innes complained: "Many thanks for your letter of [April] the 12th received yesterday--when I was in the midst of a turmoil caused by one stupid housekeeper of an invalid brother, that I could not have answered anything. I would not have believed any woman could be so stupid &

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[24] Kathleen Innes to Clara Ragaz and Gertrud Baer, September 2, 1939. WILPFm II:283.

[25] Kathleen Innes to Clara Ragaz and Gertrud Baer, September 2, 1939. WILPF II:283.

[26] See Records 4; Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, May 23, 1938, WILPFm I:A:66.

[27] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, November 23, 1938. WILPFm I:A:67. Innes's frequent use of dashes for periods is reminiscent of Emily Dickinson's.

[28] Kathleen Innes's reply written on letter from Gertrud Baer dated December 16, 1938. WILPFm I:A:67.

cause so much trouble____ It isn't over, but there is a temporary lull!"[29]

The lull did not last long. By May Innes again found herself apologizing to Gertrud Baer for being unable to attend promptly to business. Domestic claims and family obligations began, really for the first time in her life, seriously to impede her work.

> For the first time in days, I have leisure & quiet for an hour. I am sleeping away for a few nights with my brother, while his valet has a short holiday, after the escapades with the housekeeper, but going over (1/2 an hour's run) each day for letters etc. - & I have time for a line after my brother has gone to bed. The story of the housekeeper would fill a book, & the unpaid bills she left behind her, another one - but we are emerging I hope, & altho' we shan't (as we certainly could) get her sent to prison, I'm afraid the poor thing will soon land there un-aided.
> This by the way of explanation for scanty notes_[30]

Innes stepped into the breach where hired help failed. Playing the domestic was not her favourite chore, but she was capable in a crunch. Since her brother, who suffered from a mental disorder, was prone to violence, he needed round-the-clock care, which she and her sisters had to provide--or put him in a mental institution. Like many reasonably wealthy middle-class families, the sisters chose discretely to hire private help, so as not to damage the reputation of a distinguished Officer of the British Empire and recipient of the Iraqi Order of Al Rafidain.

Whenever possible, Innes tried to solve personal and "political" problems simultaneously. In her desire to help refugees find places to stay and a means of survival, she arranged to hire refugees in return for domestic help at Portway. Similarly, when she met the Fürstenheims--refugees from Nazi Germany--she and her husband offered assistance. E.G. Fürstenheim recalls:

> We had discussions on the political situation and on literature, and Kathleen showed particular interest in the work and ideas of my father, Dr. Walter Fürstenheim, a psychiatrist, who had initiated and run the first German child guidance clinic, before being dismissed by the Nazis from his post as medical officer in Frankfurt, because his family had originally been Jewish. He had, however, stayed in Frankfurt, when first my brother and later my mother and sister joined me in England, for he was loth to forgo his small pension and felt that by helping fellow victims in Germany he would be of more use than on our holding [a small pig and poultry farm]. It was only after the "Sudeten" crisis and "Kristallnacht" that we could persuade him to emigrate. (Fürstenheim, "How George and Kathleen Innes Helped Us")

Innes, hoping to solve both a political and a personal problem

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[29] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, April 15, 1939. WILPFm II:283.

[30] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, May 18, 1939. WILPFm II:283.

simultaneously, offered Dr. Fürstenheim a job looking after her brother. He initially declined the offer, in order to stay with his family on their small farm but eventually did take it up.

In 1939 when all German citizens in England again, as in 1914, became "enemy aliens," the Inneses did all in their power to see that the Fürstenheims were not unfairly treated. At first they were reasonably successful, but when the British Government worried about a German invasion, it "decided to intern all enemy aliens." E.G. Fürstenheim, his brother and father were interned. George Innes appealed to the Home Secretary, "who ordered our immediate release, but by the time this order reached the Huyton Camp my brother and I were already on the high seas on our way to internment in Canada." E.G. Fürstenheim recalled that

> For the time being the Inneses were powerless to do anything for the male members of the family, but they were of tremendous help to my mother and sister who were left in sole charge of the holding and had to cope with an outbreak of swine fever and the hostility of villagers. In spite of the war we had remained on very good terms with our neighbours, but when we were interned their attitude changed completely.

Not so the Inneses's. They drove the six kilometres from St. Mary Bourne to Picket Piece almost every day to help E.G. Fürstenheim's mother and sister; they also continued to pressure the government for the release of male family members, which in 1941 paid off: "my brother and I were among the first Germans interned in Canada who were set free, again without having to face any kind of examination. We returned to England in March 1941." Wrote Innes to a friend shortly afterwards: "Two young refugee friends of ours were whisked off to Canada in the internment excitement some months ago--although they ought never to have been interned at all--walked into their home the other day."[31]

Looking for paid employment, after the demise of the farm, the family tried to find jobs. Dr. Fürstenheim "now accepted an offer Kathleen Innes had made him earlier on, that is to look after her brother." By 1941, George Royds lived in Crawley, near Winchester, with his sister Bud, and Dr. Fürstenheim "moved in with them ... doubling the roles of resident psychiatrist with that of nurse/companion." He worked there for the next eight years, and in 1945 also volunteered at the Winchester Child Guidance Clinic--getting back into the work he loved (Fürstenheim, "How George and Kathleen Innes Helped Us").

The Inneses continued to provide moral support and practical help for the rest of the family, often arranging for people to work on the farm. In fact, this was how E.G. Fürstenheim came to meet his wife--an Art student who volunteered during the war as a member of the Women's Land Army. When it became impossible for E.G. Fürstenheim to engage in strenuous physical labour, the Inneses were again there to help him find a job: "I was finally taken on the Hampshire County Council in Winchester, I am not sure whether this was due, once again, to the influence of the Inneses, but I do know that the Head of the Department who engaged me was a Quaker." After the Fürstenheims were "on their feet" and out of harm's way in England, they saw less of the Inneses, but E.G. Fürstenheim writes: "We have never forgotten them and the debt

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[31] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, March 25, 1941. EGB.

of gratitude we owe to them" ("How George and Kathleen Innes Helped Us").

The Inneses's kindness in the "topsy-turvy world" typified their humanitarian philosophy; they made the political personal--to turn around a well-known maxim of the women's movement. They aided refugees during the First World War; they did so again in the Second. This time, from home, they aided refugees who simply sought work and shelter in yet another country hostile to their mere presence.

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> I wish you could be with me as I write--in warm, almost summer sunshine, in a garden-room with wide open doors, a lawn mower humming peacefully--good & wholesome--What fools men are to make such a mess of a lovely world.
>
> - Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer

Even the hedgerows, as Innes noted with palpable disappointment in Life in a Hampshire Village, did not always escape the ravages of war: "The hedges are--alas! since the war 'were,' in many cases,--the crowning glory of our 'Highlands'" (3).

> It is the memory of some of these hedges which leaves an ache when the hacked and levelled scars, sacrificed in the interests of war-time agriculture, meet the eye to-day, round field after field. There will be fewer birds' nests and fewer birds in the cornfields perhaps--and perhaps also more blight and more harmful insects. (5)

The English countryside--symbol of that for which soldiers in both World Wars fought--had not come through the wars unaffected. When Innes looked at the countryside, she did not see what Richard Hannay saw in Mr. Standfast as he looked out on the hills in the Cotswolds: "a vision of what ... we were all fighting for" (27). Rather, Innes looked at land scarred by a war which should never have transpired. Neither the countryside, nor its inhabitants survived unaffected.[32]

For all its apparently tranquil loveliness, the Hampshire village was not safe from bombs. Within St. Mary Bourne's Rural District Council area four people died, ten suffered serious injuries, and seven

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[32] For an interesting discussion of images of the countryside between the wars, see Alex Potts in "'Constable country' between the wars":

> At times when the 'outside world appeared particularly threatening, during the two world wars, and in the 1930s with the rise of Fascism, such images [of a traditional, picturesque countryside] were often invoked to celebrate an English essence, enduring safe and beautiful, a home, a haven, and at the same time England's glory. (162)

Appeals to the beauty of nature and the tranquillity of country life abound in Innes's book, less to celebrate any English "essence" (although undoubtedly traces of this may be found) than to provide psychological relief from the horrors of war.

suffered slight injuries. Four homes were completely destroyed, eight houses damaged beyond repair, 19 homes badly damaged, and 77 homes suffered slight damage. In the Kingsclere area alone (13 kilometres northeast) the number of air raid alerts reached 236, while Whitchurch--a mere 5 kilometres southeast--went on alert 277 times. One hundred and sixty-four high explosive bombs and several other types of bombs fell within the Rural District Council area (Records 23).

The Second World War arrived in St. Mary Bourne not only via air raid alerts and increased agricultural demands, but in an influx of people. "Refugees"--many of them staff from the Bank of England--made their way to the village. Most returned to their city homes after the war, but at least one family, the Youngs, liked the village so much they stayed. Billie Young remembers how the Inneses were the first people in the village whom they got to know:[33]

> When I first came into this village 53 years ago, nearly 54, with a very small baby, Mr. Innes was one of the very first people I met. And I was very surprised because I'd come from London and he said "Are you going to the post office? because I'd be very happy if you'd take a letter for me..." And I thought it rather odd because he didn't know who I was; it seems quite an odd thing to say. But he came out to see me the very next morning to thank me for being so obliging. Actually I was so surprised; I wasn't used to people stopping me on the street, you see, saying would you post this letter for me, especially as he was extremely agile when he was an old man. (B. Young and C. Younger, Interview)

From that point on, Ken and Billie Young and their son, Robin, were friends of the Inneses--Ken Young as organizer of the Village Flower Show and reporter for two local newspapers, the Hampshire Chronicle and Andover Advertiser, and Robin Young in youth as an avid bird-watcher and later as an active member of, and one-time candidate for, the North-West Hants Liberal Association when George Innes was local Vice-President (R. Young, Interview).

Many Bank of England refugees joined in village life for the short time they were there and certainly left their mark. Not used to more "rustic" living, many families made expensive home improvements. As Innes lamented in Life in a Hampshire Village:

> Many of the most picturesque cottages are now no longer lived in by the real 'villagers,' and the war subjected the whole district to an invasion which made it difficult for young people marrying to find homes. As the 'invaders' left when the war was over, there were cottages with improvements and modern facilities available to promote the development of village life which were hoped for and are promised, but the increased prices ruled them out for the cottagers and attracted purchasers from elsewhere. (29)

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[33] The Inneses were the first to welcome many families into the area. Cluny Younger recalled that Kathleen and George Innes were the first in the area to call on her and her husband shortly after they moved to the neighbouring village of Stoke (B. Young and C. Younger, Interview).

On the one hand, the "refugees" from the cities brought improvements that would otherwise have been a long time coming; the Inneses had done the same when they bought Portway. On the other hand, the evacuees' short stay in the village left a legacy of housing costs out of the range of most young Bourne residents.

The evacuees may have brought changes for which villagers were unprepared, but they were hearty and sincere in their thanks for the welcome. Knowing the villagers' efforts to preserve their history, a small group prepared "beautifully executed copies of the [Birth, Death, and Marriage] Registers" from 1661 to 1837 (Village Story 6; Records 4). Also, "in appreciation of the kindness to them by our Vicar, Canon Sear, who acted as their chaplain during their time in Hurstbourne Park," the Bank of England made a gift to St. Peters Church of a stained glass window depicting, "appropriately," said Innes, "the Old Lady of Threadneedle Street" (Village Story 6).

Innes could support with a clear conscience civilian relief efforts such as canteens for soldiers--in one case a troop of Black American soldiers camping nearby (Records 24)--and first aid stations. She responded with mixed emotions to the militaristic features of the village's war effort. She could not condone the violence implicitly attached to the military uniform, yet she knew that without people willing to wear that uniform, the Allies could not win the war. One hundred men from the area joined the Army, Navy, Air Forces, and Royal Marines and thirteen women joined the ATS, Waafs, and Wrens, while those "in reserved occupations or too old for military service served in the Home Guard, drilling and engaging in manoeuvres with keenness and devotion" (Records 23).

This "tranquil" Hampshire village pictured in Innes's Life in a Hampshire Village teemed with life throughout the war. It especially came alive when an enemy "Composite aircraft" landed in Binley 3 kilometres away and, in the same month, a V1 bomber landed in Stoke about 2 kilometres away (August 1944). An even closer call for the Inneses occurred in the autumn of 1945 when an RAF plane crashed in the cress beds opposite Portway. Air raid alerts and wartime agricultural production kept people's nerves on edge. Yet in the midst of all this, Innes in her summerhouse, with its door thrown open, wrote about "a countryside which keeps a permanent character that is intangible" (Life 1). And this image of relative stability, at least one wartime reader vividly remembers, provided a much-needed anodyne:

> I took the book to bed with me, and was immediately struck by some words in the preface: 'Meanwhile the countryside remains. The rich scent of newly-turned earth' ...
>
> At that point an alert sounded, followed by the dreaded swish of a falling bomb. I repeated the words as we trod, like Agag, through masses of glass from our blasted windows. Back in bed again, I returned to the Hampshire Village....
>
> I put the book down with a strange sense of peace, reminded of the abiding things in a life filled with destruction, futility and suffering....
>
> At sunrise ... I went forward to face another difficult day with Life in a Hampshire Village stored in memory--with a newly found confidence. (Harrison 2)

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> I find, together with the greater enjoyment of accustomed things, present happenings give one a more detached view of material belongings_ & a curious sense of what really matters, independent of all these.
>
> - Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer

In an atmosphere saturated with patriotic spirit, there existed another, quite different, spirit of patriotism: the kind that says "The best way to demonstrate love for one's country is to oppose wars, in which citizens are expected to end their lives prematurely." Whether the villagers knew it or not, St. Mary Bourne became home of the British National Headquarters of the world's largest feminist pacifist organization. In 1940, the frequent air raids over London precluded the possibility of sustained attention to work at the WIL's Gower Street offices in London, so at Innes's invitation, the headquarters was moved to St. Mary Bourne for a period of just over two years. Several months after the move, the WIL Offices were "badly damaged" in an air raid, but, wrote Innes to WILPF President Emily Balch, as if "by a miracle our photograph of Jane Addams ... [still] hung safely on the wall."[34]

Fortunately, no WIL staff were hurt in the raid because the Office had been completely shut down. The Secretary, Emily Horscroft, Innes's friend for twenty years, had moved to Portway also.[35] There she became almost as thoroughly charmed by village life as Innes was herself: "Out of office hours E.H. is busy cultivating an allotment!" she wrote to Gertrud Baer. "She has never done anything of the kind before and gets quite excited over the 'creation' of things and is beginning to understand why, when you once get caught by 'the country habit,' going to town seems a sheer waste of time."[36]

Regardless of their "out of office hours" pursuits, Innes and Horscroft faithfully kept the national organization up and running. Together they answered the daily correspondence from Branches and international sections, and produced the WIL Monthly News Sheet. Although most villagers would not have been prepared to support wholeheartedly the WIL's feminist pacifist principles, Innes and Horscroft were hardly outcasts: they participated in any community activities which did not directly support the war.

Innes, who had gravitated toward women's organizations all her life, became involved in the local Women's Institute, as did Horscroft during her stay in St. Mary Bourne. Of its many war-time activities, Innes contributed most heartily to those such as the jam-making centre focusing on the supply of food. She explained to Gertrud Baer that

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[34] Kathleen Innes to Emily Balch, May 7, 1941. EGB.

[35] Just one month after Innes's marriage in 1921, Emily Horscroft went to spend some time with the Inneses in their new Lewes home. See Emily Horscroft to Miss Wossner September 26, 1921: "I am having a short holiday next month and am going to stay with Mrs. Innes (Miss Royds). We miss her so much in the Office and her removal has entailed a great deal of extra work on those remaining" (WILPFm III:298).

[36] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, March 25, 1941. EGB.

> The Women's Institutes have been made responsible throughout the country for the entire preservation of the fruit crops. No private person is getting sugar for the preserving, but if it is as it was last year, the Women's Institutes will get all they ask for so that no fruit is wasted. Here, in this village, we are going to begin jam making and preserving with the early soft fruits and are planning to go on to the blackberries. Last year we made 2,118 pounds in about eight weeks with weekly meetings only, so if the crops are good I really think the country should have enough jam and bottled fruits by September.[37]

Bottling and pickling, an important function of the WIs during the First World War became so again, as food rationing got stricter (Jenkins 106, 115-116).[38] With meat rationing people placed increasing importance on fresh and preserved produce, and vegetable and fruit cultivation became a protected industry. One couple still remembers eating "Woolton Pie"--9/10ths vegetables and 1/10th meat--named after an old school-mate of George Innes, Lord Woolton, Minister of Agriculture during the war (B. and F.H. Isherwood, Interview).

The Inneses took pride in becoming almost entirely self-sufficient: "A garden in the country has been a constant source of enjoyment, - as well as use. I am almost a professional bottler by now. Among other things I have done 16 bottles of homegrown tomatoes!" Innes informed her WILPF Co-Chairman.[39] The highly productive garden became the source of a wide variety of vegetables and fruits, which Kathleen and George Innes often entered for competition in the Annual Flower Show. They had prize-winning carrots, cauliflower, potatoes, beets, cabbage, peas, rhubarb, red and black currants, gooseberries, and loganberries. And one year, Kathleen Innes put her domestic talents to work to produce bottled black currants which took second place and a salad arrangement that took third.[40]

Raising chickens was a common practice among countrywomen--one which Kathleen Innes wanted to try. So after they were settled into Portway, she established a small henhouse on their property and soon had hens producing prize-winning brown eggs which helped feed her household and possibly other villagers' families too. She maintained a small poultry farm, quite unlike the "egg-factories" established by men during the depression when, said Adrian Bell with tongue-in-cheek, "this womanish occupation" came to be more lucrative than "the commanding work

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[37] Ibid.

[38] During the Second World War, the National Federation of Women's Institutes decided that out of respect for their Quaker members they would place tight controls on participation in war work. This position drew heavy criticism both from within the movement and from without. Nonetheless, they stuck to their policy, which made Innes's participation in their activities possible (Jenkins 72-3).

[39] Kathleen Innes to Clara Ragaz and Lotti Birch, August 30, 1940. WILPFm II:291.

[40] Andover Advertiser August 3, 1951: 6; August 6, 1954: 6; and July 27, 1945: 3; July 23, 1943: 1.

of cultivation" (Bell 46, 45).[41] George Innes had no intentions of taking over his wife's henhouse, and Innes had enough to keep her busy without going for large-scale production and the purchase of all the newest equipment. She kept her farm small and functional.

More uncommon in the village was bee-keeping:

> One or two people have a number of stocks of bees, and do quite a trade in honey in good seasons. The main honey flows are the time of the fruit blossom, and the clover and sainfoin period. The watercress beds also when in flower attract a lot of bees. An active Bee-Keepers' Association has recently been formed locally. It keeps up interest and adds to information, and its subscription covers the benefit of insurance, both of the stocks of bees and third-party risks. In the days of jam rationing the producers of honey are especially fortunate. (Life in a Hampshire Village 50)

The Inneses began this hobby probably during sugar-rationing and kept going long after the war ended. Portway, opposite the watercress beds, proved to be an ideal locale for raising bees, which in 1954 produced honey that took second place at the annual Flower Show.[42]

Kathleen and George Innes were forever joining one society or another, and did not alter their behaviour when a bee-keeping association started in their area. Some villagers can still remember them pedalling the bee-keeping magazine at every opportunity (Dawes, Interview). Innes took everything she did very seriously and no doubt researched schemes well before she tried them. She picked up as much scientific and conventional wisdom about bee-keeping as possible and even had fun learning superstitions connected to the pursuit--a common one being that if there is a death in the house the bees have to be told, otherwise they will leave (Bell 117; Innes Records 22).

> One of the traditional rhymes used for the purpose ran:-
> "Wake, brownie, wake,
> And a new master (or mistress) take,
> For your master is dead." (Innes, Records 22)

To see Innes in her veiled hat and protective garb tending the bees was not an uncommon sight, for she loved to be outdoors working in the garden, looking in on the chickens and bees, or simply sitting in her "garden house" writing and thinking. Her undated poem, "The Hill," evokes the many facets of the countryside which she found so alluring.

> Out on the hill
> Cloud shadows pass
> Daisies & dandelions star the grass
> Out on the hill

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[41] Someone representing an Adrian Bell is listed among those who attended Innes's funeral (clipping of an obituary notice probably from the Andover Advertiser).

[42] Andover Advertiser August 6, 1954: 4.

Over the hill
The larks shower song
Bees in the sun hum the whole day long
Over the hill

Over the hill
With changeless change
Centuries pass, while the seasons range
Over the hill

And on the hill
Comes peace, for I
Feel kinship is mine with eternity
Out on the hill

The smells, sounds, and beauty of the country filled Innes with a sense of what was right in the world and of "what really mattered." And knowing that personal friendships could survive despite governmental belligerence kept Innes hopeful during the war. Correspondents from Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Norway, and Switzerland lifted her spirits and persuaded her even more deeply of the value of her pacifist beliefs.[43] And as Clara Ragaz wrote her, many friends and WILPF members felt affection and admiration for the work she and her English colleagues managed to accomplish during the war.[44]

This work was made more difficult, yet all the more meaningful, as Innes learned of the deaths during the war of many friends. Helena Swanwick wrote to Innes about Hitler's Germany, shortly before committing suicide: "I want our people to realise the moral horror of driving a whole people mad so that--perhaps--our people won't do it again."[45] Innes published in the WIL Monthly News Sheet and in the wartime substitute of Pax International glowing tributes to her colleague of more than twenty years. Less than four years later Innes was again writing memorials for dear friends in the peace movement: Lida Gustava Heymann and Anita Augsburg of Germany died in exile in Switzerland, and in Wales, WIL activist M.G. Thoday died after a long illness. Innes's friends and colleagues Eugenie Meller (Hungary) and Rosa Manus (Holland) died in concentration camps; Frantiska Plaminkova, Milena Illova, Elsa Kamus (Czechoslovakia) also were "brutally executed"; and Marie Lous-Mohr (Norway) was held in the Nazi's Grini concentration camp for two and a half years (Randall 350). Innes's Austrian friends Fredericka and Stefan Zweig, then living in Brazil, were too distressed about the damage done by the Third Reich that they, like Helena Swanwick, took their lives in 1942. Many more colleagues died during the war: Dorothy Evans (England), Marguerite Gobat (Switzerland), Lola Maverick Lloyd (USA), and Mathilde Widegren (Sweden).[46] In a world so full of horrors, material possessions came to mean little.

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[43] Kathleen Innes to Clara Ragaz, August 27, 1941. WILPFm II:298.

[44] Clara Ragaz to Kathleen Innes, August 7, 1941. WILPFm II:298.

[45] Banks 207; Swanwick quoted in Innes's memorial "H.M. Swanwick."

[46] See Bussey and Tims 180-1.

Innes's untitled and undated poem might well have been born out of the deep sorrow she felt for dead colleagues, who would not witness the war's end:

> The words that we too fain would say
> Remain unsaid
> Until we stand with bitter tears
> Beside the dead
>
> With those for whom we do not yearn
> We talk & smile
> The soul that longs to speak with soul
> Is mute the while
>
> Love when we break the bonds of time
> If soul soars free
> All understanding understood
> How good't will be

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> Personally, my pacifism is unchanged...
> - Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer

Throughout the war, Innes remained an absolute pacifist. Yet she realized the difficulty of defending her position in the face of Nazi atrocities. The WILPF's President, Emily Balch, made a difficult decision in the 1940s and declared her grudging support for the war. She saw no way for Hitler to be stopped except by force.[47] Although Balch's biographer Mercedes Randall sets up Innes's and Balch's opinions as dissimilar, they really had a lot in common.[48] As a Quaker and WILPF member, Innes shared Balch's distaste for the use of the war method to settle disputes. And like Balch, she saw no other method than force to stop Hitler.

Where Innes and Balch parted, however, was in their willingness to support the war effort in their own country. Balch "contributed, however modestly, to so-called Community War-Funds, a large part of which was devoted to wholly peaceful social aid" (Balch qtd in Randall 341). Balch admitted that it typified her "mixed reaction" and lamented that she "thus lost the respect of my many 'absolutist' pacifist friends" (qtd in Randall 341). This may have been true of many colleagues; however, Innes still had great respect for Balch, though she could not share the urge to contribute officially in any way to Britain's war effort.

In an exchange with Balch, Innes tried to outline her position on the nature of the WILPF's pacifism, though she admitted to feeling "presumptuous in trying to tell [Balch] anything about what the W.I.L.P.F. has stood for."[49] "I am interested in what you say about the

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[47] See Randall, Chapter 15.

[48] Randall apparently did not realize that Innes was also a Quaker and Secretary of the Friends' Peace Committee for ten years.

[49] Kathleen Innes to Emily Balch, May, 7, 1941. EGB.

W.I.L.P.F. and absolute pacifism," she wrote.

> When we had the discussions with Dr. Clark I went through a great many of the old records and found statement after statement which I thought proved quite conclusively that we had always been pacifist. When I read them[,] the Committee and Dr. Clark, who had taken the other view, did not argue it any more. Another member who had just joined thinking we were not absolutely pacifist very nearly resigned when she heard the quotations, but I am glad to say has stayed with us and is being very helpful.[50]

The British Section, she stated unequivocally, was "absolute"--in the sense that, officially, the WIL would offer no support to societies or the government which might contribute directly to the war effort. Some members did not personally agree with the position and individually engaged in or supported the war effort as Balch did; Innes shared the WIL's position. In a letter to Gertrud Baer, she laid out her position, which rested heavily on the notion, now familiar to readers of Virginia Woolf's Three Guineas, of the "Outsider's Society"--a society lobbying for "freedom, equality, peace; but that ... seeks to achieve them by the means that a different sex, a different tradition, a different education, and the different values which result from those differences have placed within our reach" (130). Innes wrote:

> I think that Governments having got us into this war must wage it with all possible energy. Governments must demand, and from those who believe as they do, should get, munitions, boats, aeroplanes, guns, etc. etc. But the W.I.L. exists to end the war system and I conceive it to be its task at the present difficult time to do nothing to hinder the Governments efforts on the creation of conditions which would make such disasters as this, or any other international war, impossible, and on the education of people to this end. There are W.I.L. members who would advocate all kinds of help. I feel that it is simply not our business to do so. If you ask me "then do you stand against shipping munitions," as you probably will at this point, I should say that, as W.I.L., I leave that whole question aside and concentrate on things for which we stand. I realise this is, in a sense, evasion, but I am not a member of the Government and therefore do not feel I must take up an attitude one way or the other, when as W.I.L. there is plenty for us to do without this and when, in any case, whatever we said would not make the slightest difference. The W.I.L., of course, stands as it always did against shipping munitions anywhere, and the moment the opportunity arises will no doubt press for the abolition of all national forces as it did before.[51]

Innes's position was held by several other influential WILPF members as well: among them her Co-Chairmen Clara Ragaz and Gertrud Baer

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[50] Kathleen Innes to Emily Balch, May, 7, 1941. EGB.

[51] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, April 8, 1941. EGB.

as well as Lida Gustava Heymann, a German exile in Switzerland. Heymann, who made known her position in an international circular letter, received a strongly critical response from the Chicago Branch of the American Section. In a letter to Gertrud Baer, Innes defended Heymann's position: "I should have liked to add to your reply [to Chicago] that L.G.H. reaffirms her own personal pacifism strongly and that her view that Hitler must be beaten in war is a detached judgment on the situation. To me this makes all the difference, and I would add that my judgment is the same."[52]

Innes saw no contradiction between recognizing that war was the only means to defeat the "madman" and maintaining an "absolute pacifist" stance.[53] She believed that Allied governments bore much of the blame that the Second World War transpired--John Maynard Keynes warned as much in The Economic Consequences of the Peace (1919), and Innes herself wrote in 1919 that unless the Treaty of Versailles were significantly revised, it would sow the seeds of future wars ("Oppressed Minorities"). The Governments, therefore, having got themselves into the war, bore the responsibility of defeating Hitler. She "disapproved of the 'unconditional surrender' policy just as she had disapproved of the Versailles Treaty which she blamed, along with the treatment of Germany by successive French and British governments, for the rise of radical German nationalism."[54] And for once, she did not even see peace negotiations as possible. "I think this, is a perfect tragedy, but I believe it to be a fact, and in that sense I can see no way out of the present situation except by the overthrow of the madman," she wrote to Baer.

> If negotiations were to begin with Hitler I should feel, I think, even more despairing than even the present situation, because I should feel convinced, he would merely try to dupe people into a temporary peace in order to be stronger for a future attempt at domination. Surely one must admit that this may be the situation, and to admit such a fact does not mean [one] is forsaking one's pacifism. The whole desperate tangle seems to me to confirm the pacifist point of view.[55]

The Second World War tested every WILPF member's commitment to their many pledges over the years to oppose war. And however individual members dealt with their own relationship to war--whether they supported it or not--the one matter on which they could all agree was the need for peace education. Their political lobbying in support of peace and freedom remained crucial. Peace was not simply an absence of war; it was a way of life. World peace necessitated not only the abandonment of violent nationalism and respect among nations, but also the guarantee of individual rights and freedoms throughout the world. Innes, Balch,

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[52] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer. December 22, 1941. EGB.

[53] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, December 22, 1941. EGB.

[54] E.G. Fürstenheim to the author, March 31, 1994.

[55] Kathleen Innes to Gertrud Baer, December 22, 1941. EGB.

Heymann, Baer, Ragaz, and several thousand other WILPF members campaigned as much as possible in their own individual spheres for these goals throughout the war.

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The air is full of schemes...

- Life in a Hampshire Village

When Kathleen and George Innes arrived in St. Mary Bourne the Church Room, the only suitable facility to rent for large functions during the 1940s, "was increasingly needed in the evenings in connection with the Church" (Village Story 20). So the Inneses and a handful of villagers planted the seeds of the idea to construct a Village Centre. Their greatest worry was, of course, how to raise enough funds for hiring a designer, buying materials, and employing labourers. Even as parochial a project such as this ultimately benefitted from their international pacifist connections, for when designs were complete and materials bought, George and Kathleen Innes called in the International Voluntary Service for Peace to help build the centre.

But in 1943 construction was a long way off, because the Village Centre Committee had yet to be struck. A public meeting for this purpose was called. Mr. G.H. Culley, who chaired the meeting, and Mrs. E. Cole were named trustees of the newly established Village Hall Fund, and Bourne villagers elected a committee of seven to oversee it. Mrs. F. Cook, Mrs. G.H. Culley, Mrs. B.M. Taylor, Mr. A.G. Lomax, Mr. D. Titchner, Mr. H. Eades and Mr. W. Culley were elected to the first Village Centre Committee. They co-opted George Innes to serve as the Committee's first Honourary Secretary. In June 1943, the sprightly sixty-year-old gladly accepted the position--not the "figure-head" status suggested by the title--and became record-keeper of the Committee.

Eleven and a half years later, George Innes resigned as Hon. Secretary, and Squadron Leader Horsham took over the Secretaryship. But because of a family illness, he was able to remain in that position only five months, so Kathleen Innes at the age of seventy-two agreed "to take over the office of Secretary as a temporary measure."[56] As with her previous "temporary" position as Secretary of the Friends' Peace Committee, Innes continued the duties until early 1961--a total of just over five years--when Mrs. E.M. (Cluny) Younger took over. In the seventeen years that George and Kathleen Innes were so intimately involved with the Village Centre Committee, they opened their home for meetings when another suitable place in the village could not be found,[57] and they watched the Village Centre move from nothing more than an idea in 1943 through to the celebration of its first decade of full operation in 1965.

When the Centre was still just an idea, fund-raising was the number one priority. Whist drives, popular since the Victorian period, brought

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[56] Village Centre Minute books, August 10, 1955. Hereafter abbreviated "VCM."

[57] Between 1945 and 1951, more than two dozen meetings were held at Portway with the General Meetings being held in a larger facility. See VCM.

in small sums for the centre. Garden fêtes, concerts, dances, and monthly or annual subscriptions also contributed significantly to the Fund. The first fête held in 1944 in the neighbouring village of Wakes Wood was a huge success, raising £137. Similar fêtes were held in St. Mary Bourne at one of the most pleasant sites, Portway's garden. The Inneses opened their property several times a year to village gatherings, and one of the more memorable occasions was the Victory Fête thrown at Portway on September 12, 1945. Revellers celebrated not only the end of hostilities, but also Kathleen and George Innes's twenty-fourth wedding anniversary. The couple usually let holidays, birthdays, and anniversaries pass with only a simple acknowledgment, but Bourne residents could not resist the opportunity to ensure that the "founders" of the Village Centre marked their anniversary with appropriate festivities (Cooper, Interview). In a surprise presentation, "Mrs. Weeden [the fête organizer] handed to Mr. and Mrs. Innes a handsome cake to mark the double event of the Victory fête in their garden and a personal anniversary."[58]

At other times, Portway's garden was used to stage outdoor theatre productions, dance and choral presentations, as well as games. Many were fundraisers for the Village Centre. The Inneses not only played the role of gracious hosts who opened their garden to villagers, but also generously donated prizes--on one occasion one of Kathleen Innes's hens--for fund-raising competitions.[59] "One would be bound to say that they were those people who are now shrugged off or sneered at as 'do-gooders'; I mean, they had been really all their lives, and at the end when they were retired from professional work, I suppose you'd say, that was what was left, and they continued to do that and would have thought it to be reprehensible not to. It would be fair to say. Good people. Salt of the earth really" (Royds, Interview).

Periodic events, as a rule, raised up to £90 at a time, but the most continuously ambitious, lucrative project was begun by George Innes in the mid-1950s. Before recycling was as widely practised in Europe and North America as it is today, he encouraged and cajoled Bourne residents to save their newspapers. Several residents, including the Inneses in Bourne and Cluny Younger in the adjacent village of Stoke, made their homes collection points for papers and magazines, which by November 1956 amounted to 30 tons and netted £100.[60] Periodically a truck would make rounds to collect the paper, and at these times, George Innes would wander into the village in search of children to help load the truck (1956 VCAR; Dawes, Interview). By 1959, his scheme had raised just over £305 toward paying off a £400 debt. He passed organization of the collection to younger hands in the 1960s (he was then in his 70s) and the scheme moved steadily onwards. Still going strong in 1966, it

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[58] Clipping probably from the Andover Advertiser September 21, 1945 in VCM.

[59] "Fête in aid of the Village Centre," clipping from the Andover Advertiser June 18, 1948 in VCM.

[60] The others who acted as collectors were Mrs. Horsham, Miss Steele, and Mrs. B.M. Taylor. St. Mary Bourne Village Centre Annual Report, 1956. Hereafter abbreviated "VCAR" in text.

averaged approximately £10 per week for the Village Centre.[61] George Innes's paper collection became something of a legend in the village--almost synonymous with the Village Centre. As one person recalls: "He really did ... build that [centre] out of paper" (Royds, Interview).

In 1951, the Plough Inn, adjacent to the Recreation Ground and across from the Summerhaugh--the village "square"--went on the market, and the Village Centre Committee purchased the facility (1954 VCAR). Improvements were made in 1952, and Kathleen Innes assumed duties as the Booking Secretary for the new Club Room and Billiard Room. This job kept her busy "[c]ollecting the money, paying for cleaning etc." for the 160 bookings per year (on average) throughout the 1950s.

Renting the two newly acquired rooms and using them for Village Centre fund-raisers did help to generate needed money for the erection of the new Centre; however, in 1953, the committee discovered that the only way the village could afford to build the hall was through voluntary labour, in which case they "could apply to the Ministry of Education for a grant of money towards the cost of materials" (1953 VCAR). The task was too great for villagers alone, so the Inneses drew on their international pacifist connections to secure a team of workers from the International Voluntary Service for Peace, an organization which "few in the village had ever heard of."[62]

The team--consisting of British volunteers as well as men and women from Ireland, Israel, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, Spain, and Japan--was quite a novelty in the village, and their work greatly appreciated. For three weeks in September, the work site buzzed with activity. Residents pitched in to help during the day, often nabbed out of idleness by George Innes. John Isherwood recalls:

> I was just stopped in the street by George Innes when I left school saying "What are you doing?" And I foolishly said, "Not very much." ... And he said, "We'll soon change that" (or words to that effect). And I was told (you know because you were told, you weren't asked) to come out to St. Mary Bourne the next day--at any rate it was at relatively short notice. And I went and .... [set to] digging the foundations for the village hall, which was hard work. (J. and A. Isherwood and C. Younger, Interview)

George Innes may have plucked people off the street for hard work, but he did not shy away from it himself. "I can see him when we were digging the foundation. I mean this sticks in my mind; first time I ever saw him take his jacket off and he had a rather fine pair of braces, and there he was shovelling cement at age 70 with the best of us. He was a great one for joining in" (J. and A. Isherwood and C. Younger, Interview).[63]

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[61] Andover Advertiser January 20, 1967: 8.

[62] Clipping from the Andover Advertiser September 1953 sent to the author by Bea and Frank Hilton Isherwood.

[63] John Isherwood said that this experience of working with such a diverse crowd of volunteers left such a profound impression on him that he later volunteered as a member of the organization himself (J. and A.

In the evenings residents made sure the team members had healthy social lives. Volunteers were treated to two evenings of Morris dancing, taken to an art gallery, and extended invitations to private homes for "either a meal, a talk, or a bath."[64] On the whole, all volunteers were well-treated, although some Bourne residents, still bitter from the war, were less hospitable toward the woman from Japan (Younger, Conversations).

By the time the team left on September 26, 1953, they "had erected the concrete framework, laid the concrete foundation for the floor, nearly completed the roof, & collected a large quantity of flints [common in the area] for the walls" (1953 VCAR). Even with the shell up, much of the work remained, and as winter was coming on, evening work "was out of the question." Left to their own devices, some villagers gave their Saturdays to the work. But Innes, at the age of 70, "sat cracking flints for an hour a day through the winter."[65] She was joined by several other women: "I remember Mrs. Innes gathering us together. We were a little group, who gave steady work. Obviously there were many more, but we were the 'steadies' I think."[66]

Not everyone fancied sitting out in the wintertime cracking flints, so the Village Centre Committee turned with renewed vigour to its fund-raising and grant-applications. The Ministry of Education came through with a grant of £700. And by summertime, 1954, work again proceeded at a swift pace.

> During the course of erection it became plain that it would be a great advantage if we could build the entrance lobby and two cloak rooms shown in the plan but which we had thought would have to wait till we got more money. As the workers were ready to give their labour and we were able to arrange to draw on the legacy of £300 as a loan, the entrance block was erected ... [and] we decided to put a lining to the roof which greatly improved the appearance and gave greater insulation. This was an additional cost to what we had contemplated, but towards it we received a very generous contribution from one who has been a benefactor from the start. (1954 VCAR)

This legacy was made by Innes herself, who had recently written her will, no doubt with the advance payment in mind.[67] By year-end 1954,

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Isherwood and C. Younger, Interview).

[64] Clipping from the Andover Advertiser September 1953 sent to the author by Bea and Frank Hilton Isherwood.

[65] Cluny Younger to the author, March 31, 1992.

[66] Cluny Younger to the author, August 12, 1992.

[67] The third clause of her will specifies "a legacy of Three hundred pounds for the general purposes of the Centre. If at my death the said Trustees shall be indebted to me in respect of moneys advanced by me to them during my lifetime such a debt shall be forgiven and shall be treated as no longer owing to me Provided however the said legacy of Three hundred pounds shall be reduced by the amount of any such debt." In this will, Innes bequeaths £1200 of her own money/property to

the Hall "was practically completed, and the official opening planned" (1954 VCAR). All that remained to be done was furnishing and equipping the hall, and supplying lighting for the stage. Once complete, its theatre became "one of the best equipped in the area" with "footlights, overhead lights, flood lights and spot lights" obtained from the Saville Theatre in London (1956 VCAR). Innes made and hung the curtains herself and, with Margery Levy, helped re-paint the windows and doors (1956 VCAR).

On January 8, 1955 the Village Centre opened with much fanfare. Britain's Minister of Education, the Rt. Hon. Sir David Eccles, attended as did several Hampshire luminaries including the Andover Mayor and his wife, the Hampshire County Council Chairman and Clerk, the County Education Officer, the Chairman and General Secretary of the Hampshire Council of Social Service, the local Member of Parliament, and others. George Innes even invited several associates in the peace movement, among them Gilbert Murray (first Chairman of Oxfam) with whom he had gone to school and who sat on the National Peace Council with Kathleen in the 1930s (J. and A. Isherwood and C. Younger, Interview).[68] The Village Centre was crowded as people listened to speeches and watched as Sir David Eccles was presented with the Key to the Hall. Festivities lasted into the evening with a well-attended dance (Village Story 21).

Bourne residents honoured the Inneses's hard work which brought the Village Centre dream to fruition. A plaque noting with appreciation George Innes's "tenacity, drive and manual work as secretary, organiser and builder's labourer to the Village Centre scheme" hung in the Village Centre as did a framed pair of photographs labelled "Founders and Benefactors of the Village Centre."[69]

Before the scheme had been fully realized Innes wrote:

> Then came the demand for a village centre--a meeting place, a place of recreation and refreshment, a public hall for meetings and classes, a reading room, a quiet room for older children and their homework. Village drama and music societies would find scope in such a centre, and attract those whose desire for entertainment now finds outlet only in a bus to the cinema.
> ...
> These are some of the dreams and visions of the present.

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relatives, friends, and associations (the Grenfell Association, WIL, Dr. Barnardo's Homes, Friends Service Council, and Village Centre), the rest of her estate fell to her husband and after his death to her niece Virginia Royds and nephew Alexander Royds (daughter and son of Massy).

[68] Gilbert Murray wrote back expressing regret that he could not attend and wished the community well; George Innes pasted this letter in his scrapbook commemorating the building of the village centre.

[69] In 1992, the year before I visited St. Mary Bourne, the Village Centre that the Inneses helped build was torn down to make way for a new centre. In the process of demolition, the photographs were retrieved by a local resident from the rubble. Jean Dawes, a former village schoolteacher, showed them to me when I visited, and to my knowledge the pictures are being reframed, possibly to re-hang in the new Village Centre.

> If some young person who is leaving the village to-day comes back after another forty years, which of them will have found fulfilment? (Life 65, 66)

Kathleen and George Innes made one of the dreams come true.

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> ... the gaiety of village life
>
> - Life in a Hampshire Village

Even in such a simple activity as bird-watching, Innes discerned possibly beneficial international political implications--as in Sir Edward Grey's bird-watching holiday in the Bourne area with American President Theodore Roosevelt: "In this common interest on the banks of the Itchen, Lord Grey's diffidence over entertaining his illustrious guest, melted away, and eagerness to learn and teach on each side took its place" (Hampshire Pilgrimages 47).[70] Perhaps this constant search for meaning contributed to Innes's reputation for seriousness and austerity and made some young children and teenagers see Innes as "a bit scary."[71] However, Innes's intensity of political purpose was balanced by a healthy dose of playfulness and deep appreciation of culture--especially painting, literature, and drama. On her unexpectedly early trip home from Germany in 1914, she visited galleries to see the "hot & passionate" modern sculpture; on her trip through Athens in 1915, she toured the Parthenon, Acropolis, and ancient cemeteries dating from 400 to 500 B.C. (KER/6); in Hampshire her appreciation turned to locally-based artists, musicians, and writers--American painter Anna Lea Merritt buried in nearby Hurstbourne Tarrant, folk musician Harry Plunket Greene, and writers Jane Austen, Charlotte Yonge, William Cobbett, Gilbert White, and Izaak Walton.

Popular forms of entertainment--the cinema in particular--became something of a luxury when petrol rationing began to affect travel into the cities, so villagers had to create their own entertainment. A Brain's Trust, following the lines of C.E.M. Joad's popular radio show which "everybody listened to ... on dark winter evenings when there was no other entertainment," was established in the village (D. and S. Hay and C. Younger, Interview). These well-attended events heard from speakers on subjects ranging from Denmark to the United Nations Charter to Country Life, and "village people asked questions" (D. and S. Hay and C. Younger, Interview).

Seeing the popularity of the Brain's Trust evenings, Innes came up with an idea that became a popular yearly event: annual lectures in memory of Dr. Joseph Stevens. The first, held in 1943, was given by Lt.-Col. Julyan on "Village Life and Farming in Hampshire a Century Ago." The subsequent lectures, like the first, addressed some aspect of social or natural history encompassed by Dr. Stevens's interests (Records 13). Throughout the years, Innes and her husband were

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[70] Lord Grey wrote several books on British birds, all of which the Inneses added to their library (J. and A. Isherwood and C. Younger, Interview).

[71] Qtd in E.G. Fürstenheim to the author, March 31, 1994; also D. and S. Hay and C. Younger, Interview.

instrumental in obtaining outside speakers, and her infectious enthusiasm drew many curious villagers to the lectures. After Innes's death, the annual Stevens lecture was renamed the "Stevens-Innes" lecture. Unfortunately, interest began to dwindle partly because of demographic changes in village, partly because Innes had been the lectures' driving force--subsequent organizers did not have her connections in the broader community nor could they replace the sense of community that Innes had encouraged.[72]

Innes brought in many speakers on local history, literature, and political issues--both as a self-appointed lecture series organizer and as a member of the Popular Lectures Committee. Those who came to speak (and sometimes stayed at Portway) included Vera Brittain and Tennyson's grandson as well as lecturers from the universities of London, Reading, and Southampton.[73] She also helped organize film screenings, during her tenure as President of the Women's Institute (1939 until sometime in the 1950s). Often these films were educational in nature, documentaries such as "World Plenty" (about feeding and nutrition around the world) and "Left of the Line" (about the filming of "The Beaches to Brussels"). Other films which probably received widespread attention in the village must have been those of Ron Eastman, who grew up in the village and went on to film, "A Day in the life of a Kingfisher," which became a "colossal hit" when it first aired on BBC TV in the 1960s. Ron Eastman's interest in natural history was inspired in part by the bird-watching hikes George Innes used to arrange for children. After the success of Eastman's kingfisher film, "he was offered a job with the famous BBC Natural History Film Unit in Bristol" (J. and A. Isherwood and C. Younger).

While Innes saw passive entertainment as fruitful for broadening villagers' horizons, she also encouraged active participation in singing, drama, and recitations. She became something of a patron of the arts in the village yet was not above participating in those activities which she encouraged. With the same eagerness that she hosted performances by actors, dancers, and singers on Portway's expansive lawn and invited villagers to watch puppet shows and scenes from A Midsummer Night's Dream,[74] she performed recitations of "The Mad Hatter's Tea Party," read her own poems, and indulged occasionally in a healthy round of charades.[75] Through the WI, she became a great supporter of local craftspeople, and she directed the WI's drama group for several years--with a stern hand, one member recalls. When rehearsals began to degenerate as members burst into fits of uncontrollable laughter, Innes would hold back for a while, then scoldingly remark "No more of that frivolity! We have work to do!" (Weston, Interview).

But Innes's reputation for being intensely serious was only half-warranted. She had sly, subtle sense of humour which occasionally broke

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[72] Cluny Younger to the author, August 12, 1992.

[73] Cluny Younger, conversations; Cluny Younger to the author, June 21, 1992; Records 13.

[74] E.G. Fürstenheim to the author, March 31, 1994; see also VCAR.

[75] Andover Advertiser December 3, 1954: 7; November 30, 1951: 6; December 2, 1938: 9.

through her quiet reserve. Once after a lecture on "British Wit and Humour" in English Literature, Innes stood to thank the speaker and, with a twinkle in her eye, "drew attention to a tombstone in St. Mary Bourne churchyard which may be unintentionally witty. On a twin stone to husband and wife (the husband died some years before the woman) appear the words 'In caelo, pace,'--In heaven, peace,"[76] words which could be interpreted in a number of ways.

Glimmers of her playfulness also shine through descriptions, in Life in a Hampshire Village and Hampshire Pilgrimages, of the village and its inhabitants. Innes loved to collect quirky anecdotes and regale readers with stories of Dr. Stevens's unorthodox methods. She recalled the antics of Dr. Stevens when, in an effort to teach the virtues of fresh air, "on finding a patient in a very stuffy room he raised his stick and put it through the window with the remark: 'That's what you want,' after which he flung down a shilling to pay for the pane to be mended" (Pilgrimages 40) and of all the times "he would tell his groom to mix a bucketful of Epsom Salts and water, and fill the bottles of all who [came to his office], while he went to the races" (40-41). She recounted with lively interest and humour stories of the eccentric nineteenth century Vicar who ordered his own coffin which he then "used, as legend says, to store apples, another [legend] being that he got into it at intervals to be sure it still fitted" (Life 16) and of the local carpenter and his wife who "in their old age [had] no ordinary dog or cat [as] their pet, but a large and truculent goose which accompanied his master for walks, and hissed at strangers in an alarmingly protective fashion!" (23).

More on the social than cultural side was her involvement on quiz teams. This Co-Chairman of the world's largest feminist pacifist organization threw herself with keenness and sincere delight into playing quiz-master for "general knowledge" competitions that dealt with items of local interest.[77] She "created much thought" among members of her WI when she chose words for the spelling bee competition,[78] and after she and her husband joined the St. Mary Bourne Village Produce Association, she took up the challenge of a seat on their quiz team, which yearly competed in horticultural quizzes. The St. Mary Bourne Gardeners, consisting in 1951 of Brigadier Brittorous (team leader), Mr. W.C. Barton, Mr. Ken Young, and Innes, became the team to beat.[79] In 1952, they moved into the final round only to be defeated by one point by their Arlesford "arch-rivals."[80]

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[76] Andover Advertiser January 12, 1951: 8.

[77] Andover Advertiser May 22, 1941: 4.

[78] Andover Advertiser February 3, 1939: 5.

[79] Andover Advertiser March 23, 1951: 6.

[80] Andover Advertiser March 14, 1952: 2; March 28, 1952: 7.

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... stimulat[ing] interest in local affairs.
- Life in a Hampshire Village

Innes had experience sitting on or chairing dozens of national and international committees by the 1940s, and she encouraged the same respect for committee work in the village. "[S]he succeeded so well that [for example] in the first post-war rural district council elections in 1946 St. Mary Bourne had a ninety percent poll."[81] During her time in St. Mary Bourne she presided over the Women's Institute for at least a decade. She became the first woman in the village to Chair the Parish Council and later the District Association of Parish Councils in 1950.[82] She chaired the Andover branch of the National Council of Women and sat on the executive of both the Village Centre and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children; she became a School Governor[83] and a supporter of the United Nations Association, the North-West Hants Liberal Association (of which George Innes was for some time President), and several natural history societies to which George also belonged, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds being one.[84]

While in some ways St. Mary Bourne was a conservative community in which people reserved the greatest respect for those with money and/or titles, Innes tried to get all people involved in village activities regardless of rank or class (Younger, Interview).

> The other great thing about the Inneses [apart from their lack of ostentation] is that they had no sort of feeling of class distinction; they treated everybody the same. And I think this is why George's relation with Brigadier Brittorous was rather a curious one because he [Brittorous] ... saw himself as the squire in St. Mary Bourne; and as very important, upper-crust. (J. and A. Isherwood and C. Younger, Interview)

Especially important to her was seeing that women got experience in public affairs. As she said in Life in a Hampshire Village: "Training in committee work and in the give-and-take of contested elections is an important part of the usefulness of the Women's Institutes." While WI President, she brought before the meetings many "women's issues" of a public nature--"the question of extending the employment of women police

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[81] Quoted from Mrs. Hay's obituary notice of Kathleen Innes read during the author's interview of David Hay.

[82] Andover Advertiser January 13, 1950: 7.

[83] A school prize bearing Innes's name is given annually at the Flower Show to a helpful student with exemplary behaviour from the St. Mary Bourne School; a book containing the names of prize-winners is kept in the school. The prize was established after Innes's death to commemorate her contributions to the school. Her Village Story, a synopsis of Dr. Stevens's village history, was used until quite recently for history lessons in the St. Mary Bourne School.

[84] Obituary notice of Kathleen Innes, probably clipped from the Andover Advertiser late March or early April 1967; R. Young, Interview.

in the country," for example--that first arose in the National Council of Women committee meetings over which she also presided.[85] Letters, written on behalf of these two organizations, also issued from her pen. One in particular, objected to the inequitable treatment of women under the War Injuries Compensation Scheme, which deemed that women should "be awarded a lower rate of compensation in every class, whether earners or non-earners.... The discrepancies," she wrote, "are peculiarly out of place, in that women share equally with men the dangers and difficulties to which the civilian population is exposed under war conditions. Although the claim for equality is based on justice and not on precedent, there are many precedents for equal compensation rates.... The law, moreover, takes no account of sex in assessing physical injury."[86] In many subtle and some not so subtle ways, Innes nurtured the women's movement in St. Mary Bourne and helped make the WI a truly powerful voice in village affairs.

The Parish Council, she felt, had much to learn from the WI, so Innes and her colleagues set about to put the council straight, as were WIs across the country (Jenkins 67).

> For many years interest in the Council and its doings was slight, the only excitement being when, at election time, some voters--and it is even suspected some who should not have voted--turned up to put their nominees on the Council or to turn off a member who had made him- or herself unpopular for any reason....
>
> A much-to-be-desired reform, the adoption of voting by ballot for the election of Parish Councillors, has been pressed for throughout the country, among others by the Women's Institutes. For lack of it a great many with the right to vote simply refrain from voting, and those who do vote tend to vote for the re-election of Councillors already serving. In a small village, where everyone knows everyone, only the few are bold enough to risk offending a neighbour or an employer by voting against him, or putting up a rival. The present method accounts more than anything, I believe, for the small percentage of ratepayers who exercise their right to vote, and the little interest taken in elections. (Life 62-63)

Shortly after the method of voting changed, Innes--a pioneering voice in the village in favour of the reform--was elected first to the Council and then to Chair it. The increased interest in Parish affairs during the 1940s through 60s was, one friend recalled, largely due to Innes--to her enthusiasm and vision.[87]

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[85] Andover Advertiser May, 22, 1942: 3; July 31, 1942: 2.

[86] Kathleen Innes to the Editor, Andover Advertiser February 7, 1941: 4.

[87] Cluny Younger to the author, March 31, 1992.

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> I'm beginning to feel rather proud of myself by contrast, - not having had a bad day in bed (except for sea-sickness!) since I started for Salonika two years ago.
>
> - Kathleen Royds to Sarah Royds in 1917

Innes prided herself on enjoying remarkably good health. She managed during her stay in Corsica with the Serbian refugees to remain healthy and active even when many of the staff members came down with malaria, influenza, colds, or nervous exhaustion. The occasional migraine headache after several nights travelling and the occasional cold seemed about all that compromised her health from youth onwards. A regimen of healthy eating, plenty of exercise walking or riding her bicycle (and later tricycle), and a family history of reasonably long lives, obviously worked in Innes's favour. She remained fabulously alert and active in the community until just a few months before her death.

During the Christmas holiday of 1966, Innes became seriously ill, was hospitalized, and underwent surgery in early January 1967. Although her condition after surgery was reported as "satisfactory," she did not regain enough strength to return home so was transferred to a nursing home in Andover. To be closer to his wife, George Innes moved in with his close friends of twenty years, Frank Hilton Isherwood (also the Inneses's solicitor) and his wife Bea, who lived in Andover. The next few months were hard for George Innes, but the Isherwoods recalled that he always tried to keep up his spirits and take events philosophically. On March 27, 1967 Kathleen Innes died of colon cancer at the age of eighty-four. This day was particularly hard on George Innes. When he returned to the Isherwood's to break the news, their son, John, and soon-to-be daughter-in-law, Ann, were there to announce their engagement. George Innes did his best to meet the occasion, but the death of Kathleen--his wife of forty-six years--clouded for him what would have been a joyous celebration.

A large, well-attended funeral was held for her in St. Peters' Church, and afterwards the Society of Friends held a quiet ceremony at the graveside. George Innes, the last to speak, recalled her contribution to the Village Centre, her work as a village historian, and "how he was reminded when he walked up the path that morning to the Church that the daffodils flanking it had come from their own garden at Portway."[88]

George Innes never really recovered from his wife's death. They had been intimate friends for over 50 years and had shared one another's work for as long. They had no children, and perhaps George Innes was sad about this, but both maintained a keen interest in children--from their earliest days together in the Serb-Croat-Slovene Child Welfare Association to their later days as school governors. With no children and no close relatives wanting to live in Portway, George Innes sold their home of thirty years. Once, he had wanted to turn it into a senior's residence, but with his wife's death his plans for the

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[88] [Ken Young's] Obituary notice of Kathleen Innes that appeared in either the Andover Advertiser or Hampshire Chronicle. Photocopy from a scrapbook compiled by Mrs. B.M. Taylor.

beautifully-situated Portway evaporated (Dawes, Interview). George sold Portway to those who own it still today.

George Innes lived for another five years, in which time he became increasingly frustrated by his own body and embarrassed by his weaknesses (Dawes, Interview). For as long as possible he remained active in those organizations which had been important to him before Kathleen's death, but gradually, the inevitable deterioration of his strength and vigour made him dependent in a way he had never been before in his life. He moved to back to the London area to be near his nephew by marriage (George Herbert Alexander Royds and his wife, Pamela). Near the end of 1973, George Innes fell down the stairs at his home in Stanmore, Middlesex; a few weeks later, on December 31, he died after suffering a heart attack. George Innes was buried beside his wife in St. Mary Bourne. He was ninety.

Anything that was not given away by relatives after George Innes's death was sold in an estate auction--including the considerable library which he and Kathleen had amassed over more than forty years together.

No. 11288 Name of Holder Royds - Kathleen Elizabeth

No. of Passport 31260

No. of Brassard Certificate 11288

No. of Brassard (Armlet) 11288

Nationality British

Civil Status Serbian Relief B.R.C.S. Nurses Corsica

Apparent Age 33

Height 5ft 8in

Colour of Hair Grey going grey

Colour of Eyes Blue

Visible Marks (such as Scars on face, loss of Fingers, &c., &c.):—

—

Signature of Competent Military Authority:—

James Magill Lt-Col

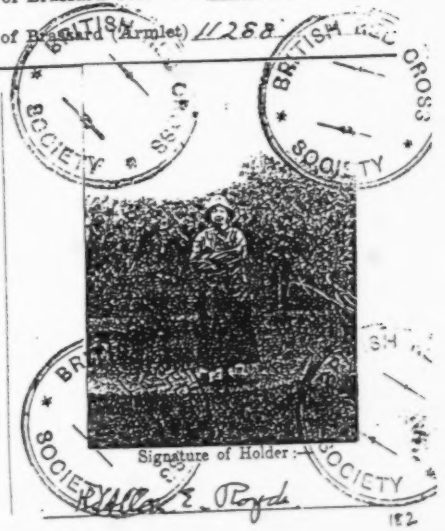
Signature of Chairman of Joint Committee of The British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John:—

[illegible]

Date and Place of Issue:—

London

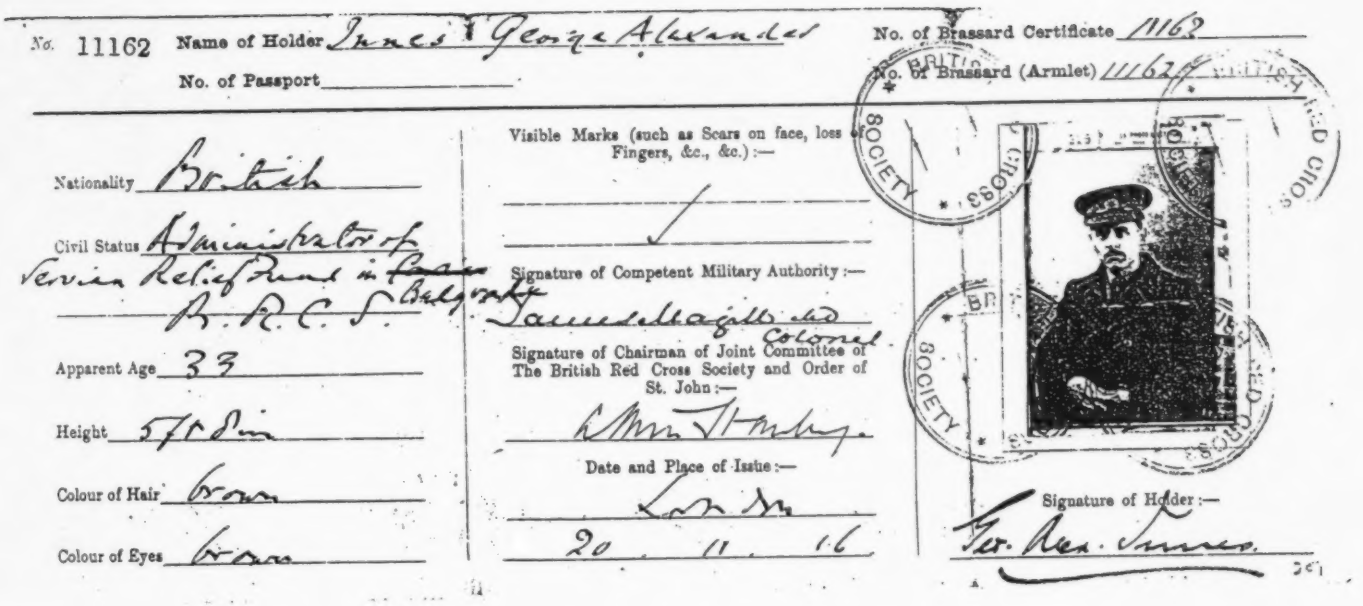
5. 12. 16



Signature of Holder:—

Kathleen E. Royds

2 Kathleen Royds's British Red Cross Society identity certificate, 1916



No. 11162 Name of Holder Innes George Alexander

No. of Passport

No. of Brassard Certificate 11162

No. of Brassard (Armlet) 11162

Nationality British

Civil Status Administrator of Serbian Relief Funds in Belgium B.R.C.S.

Apparent Age 33

Height 5ft 8in

Colour of Hair Brown

Colour of Eyes Brown

Visible Marks (such as Scars on face, loss of Fingers, &c., &c.):—

/

Signature of Competent Military Authority:—

James Wigall Lt Colonel

Signature of Chairman of Joint Committee of The British Red Cross Society and Order of St. John:—

Date and Place of Issue:—

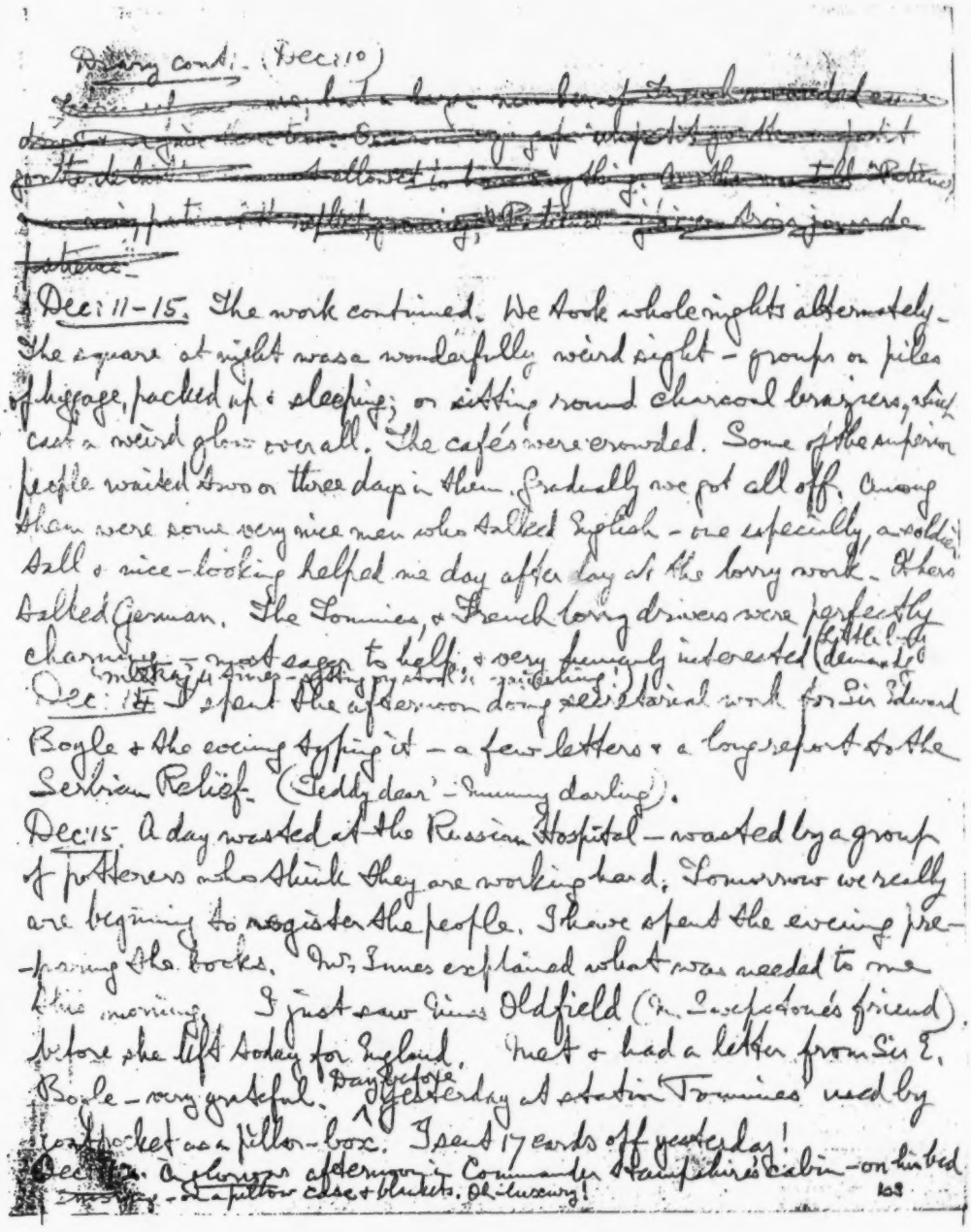
London

20. 11. 16

Signature of Holder:—

Geo. Alex. Innes

3 George Innes's British Red Cross Society identity certificate, 1916



Dec: 11-15. The work continued. We took wholenights alternately. The square at night was a wonderfully weird sight – groups or piles of luggage, packed up & sleeping, or sitting round charcoal braziers, that cast a weird glow over all. The cafés were crowded. Some of the superior people waited two or three days in them. Gradually we got all off. Among them were some very nice men who talked English – one especially, a soldier, tall & nice-looking helped me day after day at the lorry work. Others talked German. The Tommies, & French lorry drivers were perfectly charming – most eager to help, & very friendly interested (demanding (making signs – getting in work, quizzing)

Dec: 14 I spent the afternoon doing secretarial work for Sir Edward Boyle & the evening typing it – a few letters & a long report to the Serbian Relief. ('Teddy dear' – 'mummy darling').

Dec: 15. A day wasted at the Russian Hospital – wasted by a group of potterers who think they are working hard. Tomorrow we really are beginning to register the people. I have spent the evening preparing the books. Mr. Innes explained what was needed to me this morning. I just saw Miss Oldfield (Mr. Lascelles's friend) before she left today for England. Met & had a letter from Sir E. Boyle – very grateful. Day before yesterday at station Tommies used by pocket as a pillow-box. I sent 17 cards off yesterday!

Dec: 16. A longer afternoon in Commander Hamphire's cabin – on his bed – a pillow case & blankets. Oh luxury!

4 Page from Kathleen Royds's "To Serbia" diary, 1916

5 Serbian embroidery given by Kathleen Innes to Bea and Frank Hilton Isherwood and generously passed on to the author in 1993

6 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, International Executive Committee, 1928 (reproduced by permission of the WILPF)

Members are listed on next page.

Reference for Plate 6

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
International Executive Committee, 1928

Seated in front row (left to right): Mary Sheepshanks (England), Annie Zueblin, Gabrielle Duchêne (France), Gertrud Baer (Germany), Aletta Jacobs (Holland), Anita Augsburg (Germany), Cor Ramondt-Hirschmann (Holland), Milena Illova (Czechoslovakia);

Second row: Eugenie Meller (Hungary), Clara Ragaz (Switzerland), Mathilde Widgren (Sweden), Ms. Budzinska (Poland), Ms. Neustadl (Czechoslovakia), Elsie Wanner (France);

Third row: Hilda Clark (England), Ms. Chenevix (Ireland), Lida Gustava Heymann (Germany), Kathleen Innes (England), Ms. Hoppstock-Huth (Germany), Ms. Mergon-Adler, Lola Hanouskova (Czechoslovakia), Benny Cederfield (Denmark), Emily Balch (USA), Marguerite Gobat (Switzerland);

Back row: Ms. Loeb (Canada), Madeleine Rolland (France), Louie Bennett (Ireland), Madeleine Doty (USA), Ms. Hottinga, Ms. Hollinga.

7 World Disarmament Declaration, 1932
(reproduced by permission of the WILPF)

7a) Send-off ceremony for the 2 million petitions gathered for the World Disarmament Declaration, 1932; Lord Robert Cecil outside the Women's International League Headquarters, 55 Gower Street, London. Kathleen Innes, wearing a hat with a broad ribbon around the crown, is standing behind a chair and banner to the right of Cecil.

7b) British World Disarmament petitions arriving in Geneva, 1932

8 Portway today; the grounds were divided in two after 1967, when George Innes gave the small cottage on Portway's property to the gardener and his wife

8a) Portway from the front, very much as it looked in the 1950s and 1960s

8b) Portway and lawn today, viewed from the driveway

8c) Pedestrian pathway from Portway's front entrance to St. Mary Bourne's main road

9 Portway's summerhouse today, reputedly an exact replica of George Bernard Shaw's

10 Bench with plaque in memory of Innes placed on footpath shortly after her death

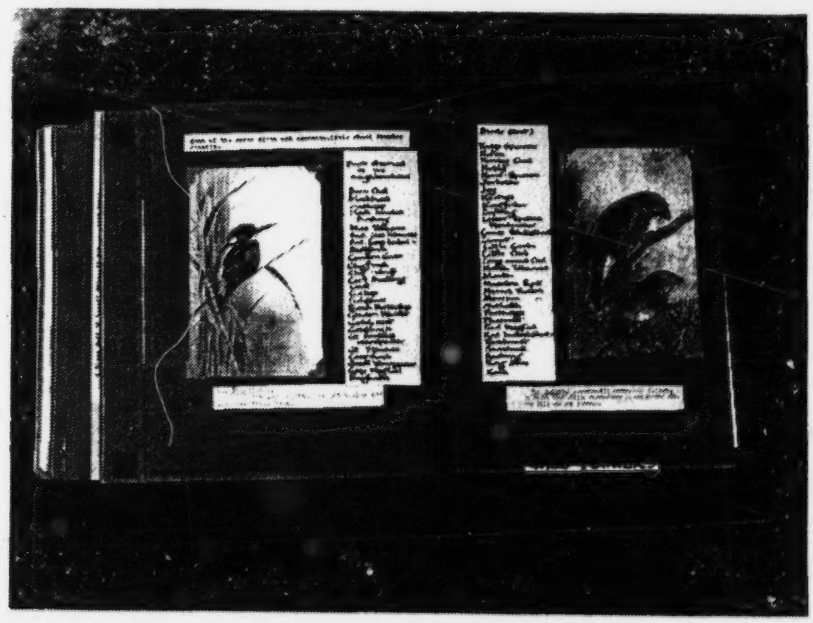
11 View of Portway from footpath by Derry Down copse; the lake was not there during Kathleen Innes's years in the village

12 View of village to the north from footpath by Derry Down copse

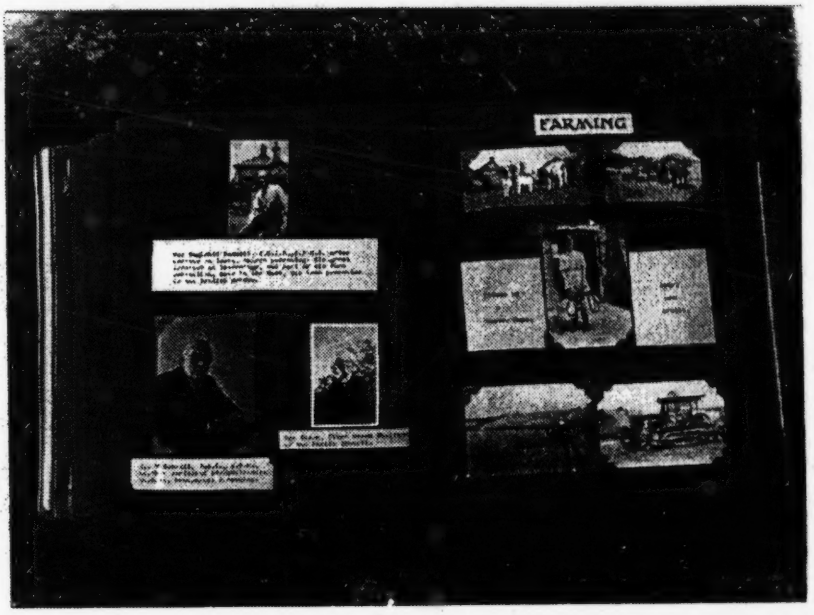
13 View of fields to the east from footpath by Derry Down copse

14 Kathleen Innes with her chickens, Portway garden,
St. Mary Bourne, May 1941 (courtesy of E.G. Fürstenheim)

15 Pages from a St. Mary Bourne Women's Institute scrapbook, 1952, compiled by Kathleen Innes and other WI members.
15a) The drawings, though not Innes's, demonstrate her fondness for birds, a fondness that she endeavoured with her husband to develop in others



15b) caption on upper left-hand page reads: "Women's Institute Jam-Making Centre,- 1939-45 War"
caption on lower left-hand page reads: "Refugees from Czechoslovakia in St. Mary Bourne during the 1939--45 War"



15c) captions on left-hand page:

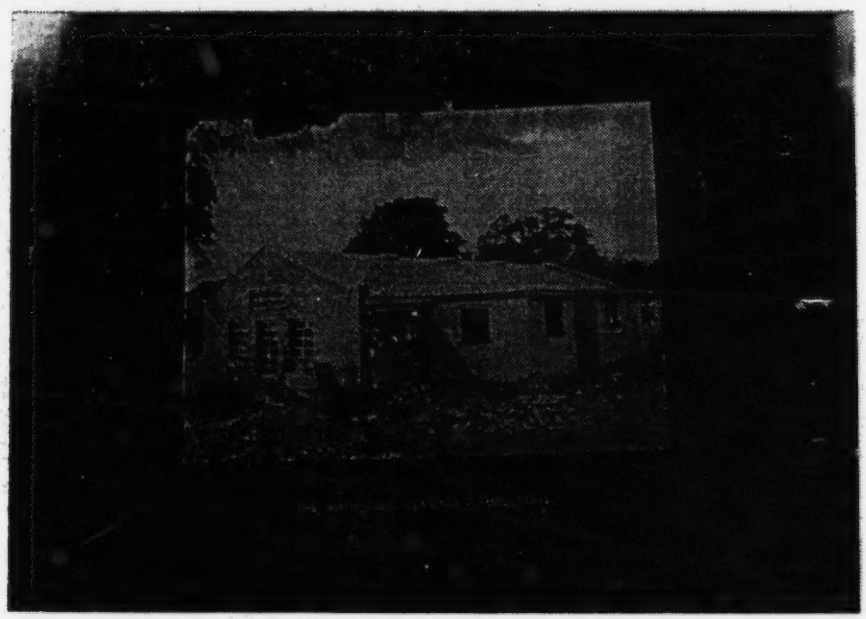
1. upper: "Sir Reginald Maxwell, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I, after service in India, enjoys gardening. His great interest in Entomology, and part of his fine collection, made in the East, has been presented to the British Museum"

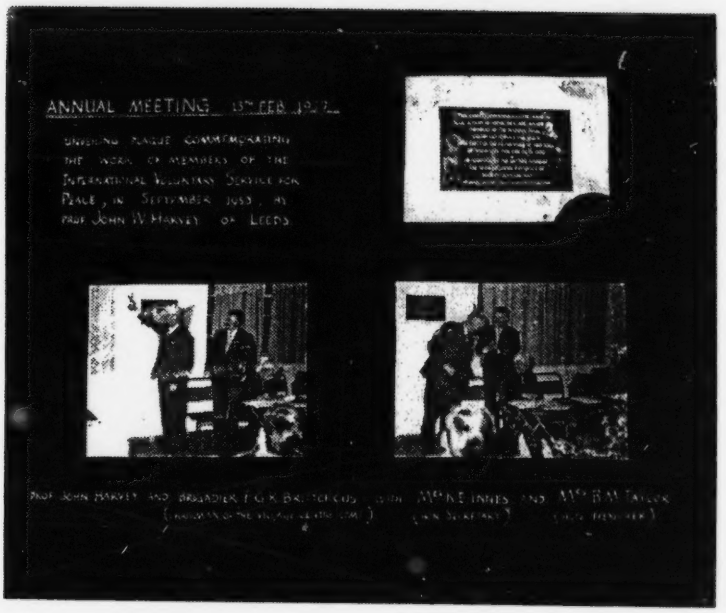
2. lower left: "Mr. W. Gaskell, C.S.I., C.I.S. another ex-Indian Administrator. Hobbies: bee-keeping and cooking"

3. lower right: "Mrs Innes, first woman Chairman of the Parish Council"

16 Pages from the pictorial history of the Village Centre, compiled by George Innes, late 1950s. The scrapbook, showing clear evidence of the damage done by mice and mildew, is being restored.

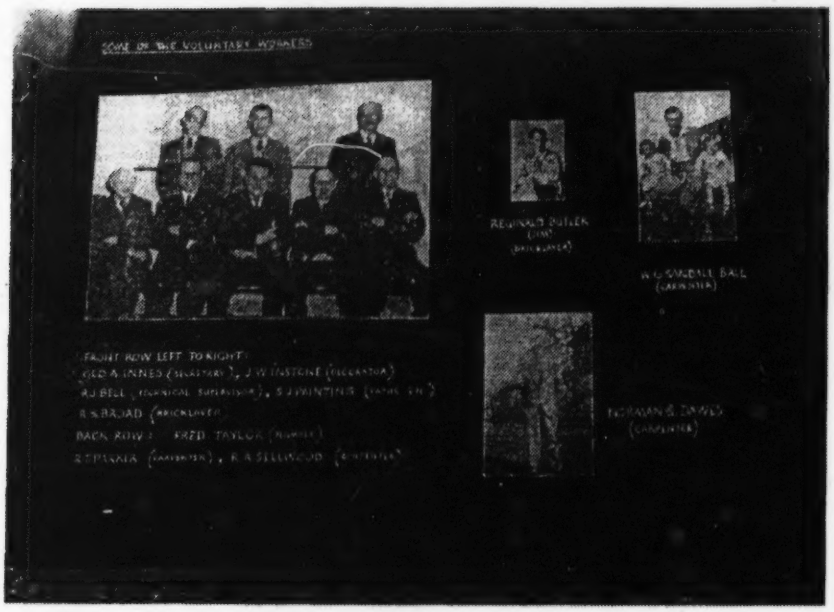
16a) Pre-cast concrete framework nearing completion
16b) The Main Hall nearing completion




ANNUAL MEETING 13TH FEB 1957
UNVEILING PLAQUE COMMEMORATING
THE WORK OF MEMBERS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR
PEACE, IN SEPTEMBER 1953, BY
PROF JOHN W HARVEY OF LEEDS

16c) Annual Meeting 13th Feb 1957. Unveiling plaque commemorating the work of the International Voluntary Service for Peace, in September 1953, by Prof. John W. Harvey of Leeds.

Prof. John Harvey and Brigadier F.G.R. Brittorous (Chairman of the Village Centre Com.) with Mrs K.E. Innes (Hon. Secretary) and Mrs B.M. Taylor (Hon. Treasurer)

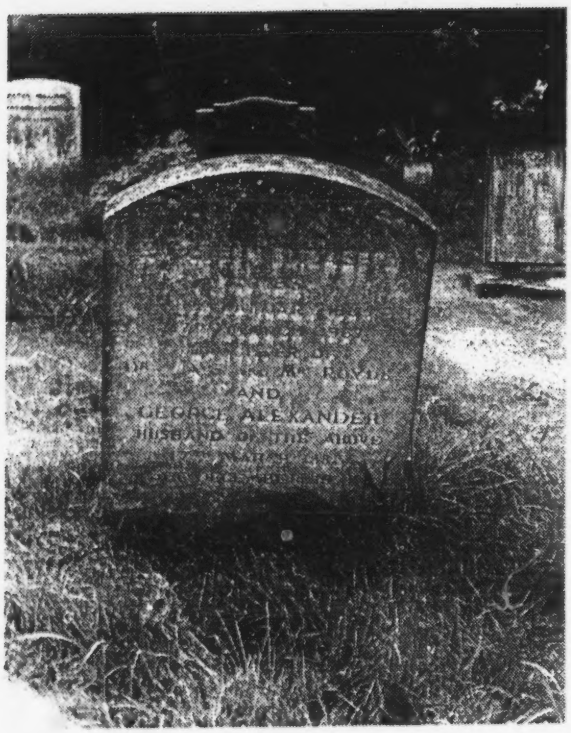


16d) Some of the Voluntary Workers
Front Row Left to Right:
Geo. A. Innes (Secretary), J.W. Instone (Decorator)
R.J. Bell (Technical Supervisor), S.J. Painting (Paths etc.)
R.S. Broad (Bricklayer)
Back Row: Fred Taylor (Plumber)
R.T. Parker (Carpenter), R.A. Sellwood (Carpenter)

17 Opening of the St. Mary Bourne Village Centre, January 8, 1955
(courtesy of Bea and Frank Hilton Isherwood)
seated in front: second from left, Frank Hilton Isherwood; third from left, Viscount Eccles; sitting at the table, Brigadier Brittorous; standing, George Innes.

18 Women who participated in the construction of the Village Centre, 1950s (courtesy of Cluny Younger)
seated on extreme left: Kathleen Innes
standing on extreme left: Cluny Younger

19 Framed photographs of Kathleen and George Innes that once hung in the St Mary Bourne Village Centre
Caption bellow their names reads: "Principal Founders and Benefactors of the Village Centre"



20 Gravestone of Kathleen and George Innes in St. Peter's Churchyard, St. Mary Bourne

Bibliography

Archival sources (and abbreviations used in text)

BRCS	British Red Cross Society/Scottish Women's Hospital documents, Women at Work Collection, Harvester microfilm, Imperial War Museum.
EGB	Emily Greene Balch Papers, microfilm edition, Swarthmore College Peace Collection.
FO	Foreign Office Papers, Public Record Office (London/Kew).
HP	Hogarth Press Archives, University of Reading.
KER	K.E. Royds Papers in Scottish Women's Hospitals Collection, Imperial War Museum.
NCPW	National Council for the Prevention of War Executive Committee Minutes, British Library of Political and Economic Science.
SFPC	Society of Friends Peace Committee Minutes, Library of the Religious Society of Friends (London).
SPNRC	Society of Friends Slavery and Protection of Native Races Committee Minutes (London), Library of the Religious Society of Friends (London).
SRF	Serbian Relief Fund documents, Women at Work Collection, Harvester microfilm, Imperial War Museum.
SWH	Scottish Women's Hospital Papers, Fawcett Library.
VCM	St. Mary Bourne Village Centre Minute Books.
VCAR	St. Mary Bourne Village Centre Annual Reports, Hampshire Record Office.
WIL/BLPES	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers (British Section), British Library of Political and Economic Science.
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers, 1915-1978, University of Colorado at Boulder.
WILPFm	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers, 1915-1978, UMI microfilm edition.
YMP	Society of Friends Yearly Meeting Proceedings (London), Library of the Religious Society of Friends (London).

Works by Kathleen Elizabeth Innes (neé Royds)

Published under her maiden name (listed by date)

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Elizabeth Barrett Browning & her Poetry. Poetry and Life Series, no.10. Ed. William Henry Hudson. 1912. London: George G. Harrap, 1918.

"With the Serbians in Corsica." Contemporary Review 113 (January 1918): 40-50.

"The Russian Disclosures." WIL Monthly News Sheet 4.7 (October 1919): 2.

"Oppressed Minorities." WIL Monthly News Sheet 4.8 (November 1919): 3.

"Work of the W.I.L." WIL Monthly News Sheet 4.10 (January 1920): 2.

Published under her married name (listed by date)

Peace-making in Africa; how one man ended a tribal war. London: Friends' Peace Committee, nd. 7p.

Why Fight? How two countries made a peaceful separation.... London: Friends' Peace Committee, nd. 4p.

"The League of Nations Assembly." WIL Monthly News Sheet 13.6 (October 1924): 1.

The Story of the League of Nations Told for Young People. London: Hogarth P, 1925.

"Points for Petition Canvassers." WIL Monthly News Sheet 15.2 (June 1925): 3.

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Appendix A

Listing of Kathleen (Royds) Innes's Correspondence

This listing includes more than 560 letters by Innes written between October 1915 and October 1949.

EGB: The letters in the Emily Balch Collection contain references to the split in the WILPF (British Section) and worsening WIL/WILPF relations in the 1930s, exchanges of opinion with Balch and her Co-Chairmen on "absolute pacifism" and on WIL activities during the Second World War; the Second World War letters, especially, give information about Innes's personal life and activities in St. Mary Bourne.

HP: The Hogarth Press correspondence relates to the publication of Innes's five books and to the publication of the Society of Friends Peace Committee's annual Mertten's Lecture, which were printed by Hogarth.

IWM: The letters contained in this collection describe Kathleen Royds's journey to Salonika and her work for the Scottish Women's Hospitals and the Serbian Relief Fund in both Salonika and Corsica.

WILPF: The letters contained in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers are primarily business letters and exchanges of political opinions; they also contain many references to Kathleen Innes's personal life.

Kathleen (Royds) Innes to:

Sarah Royds, 9 Oct, 1915 to 14 Oct, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Sarah Royds, 15 Oct, 1915 to 16 Oct, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Sarah Royds, 19 Oct, 1915. IWM KER/1.
William Royds, 19 Oct, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Sarah Royds, 22 Oct, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Sarah Royds, 27 Oct, 1915 to 28 Oct, 1915. IWM KER/1.
[Sarah Royds], 29 Oct, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Sarah Royds, 3 Nov, 1915. IWM KER/1.
William Royds?, 4 Nov, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Sarah Royds, 9 Nov, 1915. IWM KER/1.
?, 21 Nov, 1915. IWM KER/1.
[Sarah Royds?], 22 Nov, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Sarah Royds, 25 Nov, 1915 to 26 Nov, 1915. IWM KER/1.
[Sarah Royds], 30 Nov, 1915 to 2 Dec, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Sarah Royds, 6 Dec, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Phoebe ?, 13 Dec, 1915. IWM KER/1.
[Sarah Royds?], 14 Dec, 1915. IWM KER/1.
Sarah Royds, 19 Dec, 1915. IWM KER/1.

Sarah Royds, 6 Jan, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Sarah Royds, 12 Jan, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Emily ("Bud") Royds, 16 Jan, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Sarah Royds, 5 Apr, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Sarah Royds, 10 Apr, 1916 to 11 Apr, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Emily ("Bud") Royds, 25 Apr, 1916. IWM KER/2.
William Royds, 2 May, 1916. IWM KER/2.

[Sarah Royds], 12 Jun, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Maye Royds, 19 Aug, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Sarah Royds, 25 Sep, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Sarah Royds, 2 Oct, 1916. IWM KER/3 [misfiled].
Sarah Royds, 14 Dec, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Sarah Royds, 17 Dec, 1916. IWM KER/2.
Sarah Royds, 27 Dec, 1916. IWM KER/2.

Sarah Royds, 1 Jan, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 26 Jan, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 30 Jan, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 5 Feb, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 12 Feb, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 20 Feb, 1917. IWM KER/3.
William Royds, 10 Apr, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 16 Apr, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 23 Apr, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Emily ("Bud") Royds, 30 Apr, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 7 May, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 15 May, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Emily ("Bud") Royds, 21 May, 1917. IWM KER/3.
William Royds, 26 May, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 29 May, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 5 Jun, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 18 Jun, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 19 Jun, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Emily ("Bud") Royds, 26 Jun, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 3 Jul, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 9 Jul, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 17 Jul, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 23 Jul, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 31 Jul, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 7 Aug, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 13 Aug, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 21 Aug, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 28 Aug, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 4 Sep, 1917. IWM KER/3.
William Royds, 11 Sep, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 6 Oct, 1917. IWM KER/3.
William Royds, 13 Oct, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 19 Oct, 1917. IWM KER/3.
Sarah Royds, 26 Oct, 1917. IWM KER/3.

Sarah Royds, 4 Dec, 1918. IWM KER/4.

Emily Balch, 6 Jun, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Catherine Marshall, 15 Jun, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 24 Jun, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 4 Jul, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 12 Jul, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 15 Jul, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 21 Jul, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 25 Jul, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 31 Jul, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 15 Aug, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 9 Sep, 1919. WILPF III-12-15.

Emily Balch, 10 Oct, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 17 Oct, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 23 Oct, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 27 Oct, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 13 Nov, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 21 Nov, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 19 Dec, 1919. WILPF III-12-13.

Emily Balch, 10 Feb, 1920. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 23 Feb, 1920. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 17 Mar, 1920. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 22 Mar, 1920. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 29 Mar, 1920. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 19 Apr, 1920. WILPF III-12-13.
WILPF national sections, 20 Apr, 1920. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 22 Apr, 1920. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 17 May, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 23 Jul, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
?, Sep, 1920. WILPFm II:53.
Emily Balch, 3 Sep, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 6 Sep, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 15 Sep, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 21 Sep, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 1 Oct, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 8 Oct, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 16 Oct, 1920. WILPF III-12-13.
Emily Balch, 25 Oct, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 9 Nov, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 13 Nov, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 25 Nov, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.
Emily Balch, 20 Dec, 1920. WILPF III-12-15.

Emily Balch, 8 Jan, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Catherine Marshall, 15 Jan, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 21 Jan, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 27 Jan, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
general audience, Feb-Mar, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 5 Feb, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 5 Feb, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 7 Feb, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 15 Feb, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 17 Feb, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Catherine Marshall, 17 Feb, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 23 Feb, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 25 Feb, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 3 Mar, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 4 Mar, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Monsieur Bovet, 9 Mar, 1921. WILPFm III:298.
Emily Balch, 17 Mar, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 19 Mar, 1921. WILPFm III:298.
Emily Balch, 4 Apr, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
British Foreign Office, 25 Apr, 1921. FO 369/1688.
Emily Balch, 11 May, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 20 May, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Branch Secretaries and Executive, Jun, 1921. WILPFm III:296.
Yella Hertzka, 9 Jun, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.

Central London WIL members, 13 Jun, 1921. WILPF III-12-16.
Emily Balch, 14 Jun, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 15 Jun, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 16 Jun, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 18 Jun, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 21 Jun, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Emily Balch, 27 Jun, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.
Catherine Marshall, 28 Jun, 1921. WILPF III-12-16.
Emily Balch, 18 Jul, 1921. WILPF III-12-18.

Vilma Glücklich, 23 Apr, 1923. WILPFm II:88.
Vilma Glücklich, 28 Apr, 1923. WILPFm II:88.
Vilma Glücklich, 24 May, 1923. WILPFm II:88.

Leonard Woolf, 1 Oct, 1924. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 5 Nov, 1924. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 10 Nov, 1924. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 15 Nov, 1924. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 20 Nov, 1924. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 28 Nov, 1924. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 3 Dec, 1924. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 19 Dec, 1924. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 30 Dec, 1924. HP 192.

Leonard Woolf, 6 Jan, 1925. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 14 Jan, 1925. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 24 Jan, 1925. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 24 Feb, 1925. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 23 Mar, 1925. HP 192.
Leonard Woolf, 25 Apr, 1925. HP 192.
Vilma Glücklich, 29 May, 1925. WILPF III-12-23.
Leonard Woolf, 25 Jun, 1925. HP 192.
Vilma Glücklich, 10 Aug, 1925. WILPF III-12-23.
Vilma Glücklich, 22 Aug, 1925. WILPF III-12-23.
Vilma Glücklich, 9 Oct, 1925. WILPF III-12-23.
Leonard Woolf, 29 Dec, 1925. HP 188.

Leonard Woolf, 4 Jan, 1926. HP 188.
Leonard Woolf, 22 Jan, 1926. HP 188.
Leonard Woolf, 30 Jan, 1926. HP 188.
Mr. Davidson, 19 Mar, 1926. HP 188.
Madeleine Doty, 7 May, 1926. WILPFm II:132.
Madeleine Doty, 13 Jun, 1926. WILPFm II:132.
Leonard Woolf, 30 Sep, 1926. HP 188.
Madeleine Doty, 29 Dec, 1926. WILPFm II:147.

Leonard Woolf, 17 Jan, 1927. HP 190.
Leonard Woolf, 28 Jan, 1927. HP 190.
WILPF national sections, Mar, 1927. WILPFm II: 147.
Leonard Woolf, 4 Mar, 1927. HP 190.
Mr. Davidson, 9 Apr, 1927. HP 190.
Leonard Woolf, 29 Apr, 1927. HP 190.
Madeleine Doty, 22 Jun, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Louie Bennett, 23 Jun, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Mrs. Grover Clark, 23 Jun, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 23 Jun, 1927. WILPFm II:147.

general audience, 23 Jun, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 30 Jun, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 1 Jul, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 8 Jul, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 19 Jul, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 5 Aug, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 8 Aug, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 13 Aug, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 15 Aug, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Madeleine Doty, 19 Aug, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Mary Sheepshanks, 5 Oct, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Mary Sheepshanks, 12 Oct, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Mary Sheepshanks, 18 Oct, 1927. WILPFm II:147.
Mary Sheepshanks, 28 Nov, 1927. WILPFm II:147.

Leonard Woolf, 4 Jan, 1928. HP 357.
Leonard Woolf, 17 Jan, 1928. HP 357.
Leonard Woolf, 3 Feb, 1928. HP 357.
Mary Sheepshanks, 12 Mar, 1928. WILPFm II:162.
Mary Sheepshanks, 28 Jul, 1928. WILPFm II:162.
Mary Sheepshanks, 12 Oct, 1928. WILPFm II:162.
Mary Sheepshanks, 12 Nov, 1928. WILPFm II:162.

Leonard Woolf, 12 Feb, 1929. HP 191.
Leonard Woolf, 5 Mar, 1929. HP 465.
Leonard Woolf, 27 May, 1929. HP 191.
Leonard Woolf, 5 Jun, 1929. HP 191.
Leonard Woolf, 11 Jun, 1929. HP 191.
Leonard Woolf, 1 Nov, 1929. HP 191.
Leonard Woolf, 5 Dec, 1929. HP 191.

Mary Sheepshanks, 6 Aug, 1930. WILPFm II:217.

Camille Drevet, 29 Dec, 1931. WILPFm III:311.

Secretary at WILPF Int'l HQ, 11 Jan, 1932. WILPFm III:311.

Miss West, 27 Apr, 1933. HP 465.
Camille Drevet, 15 May, 1933. WILPFm III:316.
Leonard Woolf, 23 Oct, 1933. HP 192.

general audience, Jan, 1934. WILPFm III:316.
Camille Drevet, 13 Mar, 1934. WILPFm III:316.
Leonard Woolf, 11 Apr, 1934. HP 370.
Leonard Woolf, 25 Apr, 1934. HP 370.
Miss West, 7 May, 1934. HP 370.
Miss West, 5 Jun, 1934. HP 370.
Miss West, 15 Jun, 1934. HP 370.
Miss West, 26 Jun, 1934. HP 370.
Miss West, 5 Jul, 1934. HP 370.
Emily Balch, 13 Aug, 1934. WILPFm III:316.
Emily Balch, 27 Sep, 1934. WILPFm III:316.
Mr. de Jong, 25 Oct, 1934. WILPFm III:316.
Hogarth Press, 6 Dec, 1934. HP 370.
Emily Balch, 13 Dec, 1934. WILPFm III:316.
Emily Balch, 31 Dec, 1934. WILPFm III:316.

Emily Balch, 1 Jan, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Emily Balch, 11 Jan, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Emily Balch, 24 Jan, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Emily Balch, 11 Feb, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Emily Balch, 18 Mar, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 6 Jun, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Emily Balch, 6 Jun, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
British Prime Minister & Foreign Secretary, 12 Jun, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Camille Drevet, 19 Sep, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 27 Sep, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Emily Balch, 1 Oct, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 23 Oct, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 28 Oct, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Emily Balch, 5 Nov, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 7 Nov, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 28 Nov, 1935. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 28 Nov, 1935. EGB.
Emily Balch, 28 Nov, 1935. EGB.

Gertrud Baer, 6 Jan, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, 15 Jan, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 30 Jan, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
?, Feb, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
Mabel Vernon, 5 Feb, 1936. EGB.
Emily Balch, 17 Feb, 1936. EGB.
Gertrud Baer, 24 Feb, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 2 Mar, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 9 Mar, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
Emily Balch, 24 Mar, 1936. EGB.
Gertrud Baer, 2 Apr, 1936. EGB.
Miss West, 28 Apr, 1936. HP 189.
Emily Balch, 21 May, 1936. EGB.
Gertrud Baer, 23 Jun, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
Rt. Hon. Earl Peel, 22 Jul, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
Clara Ragaz, Gertrud Baer and Cor Ramondt Hirschmann, 23 Jul, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
Gertrud Baer, 29 Jul, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
WILPF Chairmen, 29 Jul, 1936. WILPFm III:320.
Leonard Woolf, 28 Sep, 1936. HP 189.
WILPF national sections, 19 Nov, 1936. WILPFm III:320.

Clara Ragaz, 9 Jan, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
WILPF Branch Secretaries, 12 Jan, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 15 Jan, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 2 Feb, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 8 Feb, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 11 Mar, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 17 Mar, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 23 Mar, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, Apr-May, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 15 Apr, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 27 Apr, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Leonard Woolf, 27 Apr, 1937. HP 189.

Lotti Birch, 30 Apr, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 5 May, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 14 May, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 26 May, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Clara Ragaz, Jun-Jul, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 2 Jun, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 4 Jun, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 11 Jun, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 3 Jul, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 9 Jul, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 10 Jul, 1937. WILPFm I:D:9.
Lotti Birch, 16 Jul, 1937. WILPFm I:D:9.
Clara Ragaz and Gertrud Baer, 13 Aug, 1937. WILPFm I:A:62.
Anthony Eden, 18 Aug, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 27 Aug, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 3 Sep, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 15 Sep, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 18 Sep, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 22 Sep, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 22 Sep, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 11 Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 14 Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 15 Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 21 Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 23 Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
President of 9-Power Conference, 23 Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Louisa Jacques, 25 Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary, 29 Oct, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer and Clara Ragaz, 1 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 2 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Dorothy Detzer, 9 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 11 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 12 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 12 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Clara Ragaz and Gertrud Baer, 15 Nov, 1937. WILPFm I:A:62.
Gertrud Baer, 17 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 19 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer and Clara Ragaz, 20 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 25 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 25 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 25 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 26 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Lotti Birch, 29 Nov, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
WILPF national sections, Dec, 1937. WILPFm II: 274.
Lotti Birch, 2 Dec, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
Gertrud Baer, 3 Dec, 1937. WILPFm II:274.
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Kathleen Innes, Gertrud Baer, Clara Ragaz to Lola Maverick Lloyd and Madeleine Doty, 13 Apr, 1938. WILPFm IV:277.
Kathleen Innes, Gertrud Baer, Clara Ragaz to Dr H Coyln, Prime Minister of the Netherlands, 9 Sep, 1938. WILPFm I:A:65.
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[There are countless other jointly signed letters not included here; they represented more or less routine business of the three International WILPF Chairmen: protesting the infringement of human rights, acts of aggression, etc. and congratulating governments and individuals for positive contributions to international peace and freedom]

Appendix B

The following is a list of books and authors set for her university examinations and those referred to by Kathleen Innes in her writings. It also includes a few of the journals and new sheets which she occasionally mentioned.

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Angell, Norman. The Great Illusion; The Fruits of Victory; If Britain is to Live; This Have and Have Not Business; The League and the Present Crisis.
Anglo Saxon Reader. 7th ed.; ed. Sweet, sections I-X and XXI-XXIX inclusive.
Apocrypha.
Armaments Yearbook.
Arnold, Matthew.
Aurelius, Marcus.
Austen, Jane. Jane Austen's Letters, 1796-1817, edited R.W. Chapman; Northanger Abbey.
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Barnes, Leonard. The Duty of Empire.
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Beales, A.C.F. The History of Peace.
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Bentham, Jeremy. "A plan for a universal and perpetual peace."
Beowulf. (Lines 1-1250).
Bible. Revised Version and King James Version.
Blake, William.
Boycotts and Peace. A Report by the Ctee on Economic Sanctions.
Boys, Sir Charles. "Chalk Valley Floods." Andover Advertiser, 3 February, 1928.
Brailsford, H.N. War of Steel and Gold.
Braune. Althochdeutsches Lesebuch. (IV, chap. iv (Isidor), XXIII (Notker: extracts from Boethius), XXXII 1, 4-12 (Otfrid), XXXVI (Ludwigslied)).
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Cicero.
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Cobbett, William. Rural Rides; Political Register.
Cole, G.D.H. War Aims
Collins, Wilkie.
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Contemporary Review.
Cooper Willis, Irene. Florence Nightingale.
Corkey, Robert, Can World Peace be Won?.
Cornwell-Evans, E. The League Council in Action.
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Cremer, William Randall.
Cunningham, J.C. The Products of Empire.
Davies, Lord. The Problem of the Twentieth Century.
de Groot, Hugo. De Jure Belli et Pacis.
Declaration of Geneva (a charter of rights for children).
Delaisi. Oil, its Influences on Politics.
"The Demand for Colonial Territory and the Equality of Economic Opportunity." British Labour Party.
The Demand for Colonies. League of Nations Union.
Dewar, G.A.B. Wild Life in Hampshire Highlands.
Dickens, Charles.
Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance.
Driver, Canon S.R.
Dubois, Pierre.
Eddy, Charles. Greece and the Greek Refugees.
Ellis, C. Howard. The Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations.
Euripides. The Trojan Women. Trans. Gilbert Murray.
Fachiri, Alexander P. Permanent Court of International Justice.
Fleure, J.H. The Peoples of Europe.
Foreign Affairs. [UDC journal].
Forster, W. Arnold. Disarmament.
Gibbs, Philip. [First World War journalist]
Gibson, W.W.
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. Faust I; Gotz von Berlichingen.
Goldsmith, Oliver. History; "Good Natured Man."
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Lowes Dickinson, G. War: Its Nature, Cause and Cure.
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Lytton Report. Appeal by the Chinese Government: Report of the Commission of Enquiry.
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Marvin, F.S. Western Races and the World.
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Montague, C.E.
Moore-Pataleewa, Barbara. I am a Woman from Soviet Russia.
Moulton, Richard Green. A Literary Study of the Bible; The Bible as Literature.

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Appendix C
Chronology

- **boldface** indicates locations visited for periods longer than one day
- **boldface and underlining** indicates places of residence
- other locations indicate sidetrips or short visits

1874	October 15: William Alexander Slater Royds (b. June 6, 1843) and Sarah Anne Spicer (b. October 15, 1839) marry and move to **Reading, Berkshire**.
1875	September 24: Annie Maye Mary born in **Reading, Berkshire**.
1876	December 17: Emily Margery ("Bud") born in **Reading, Berkshire**.
1879	June 22: William Massy born in **Reading, Berkshire**.
1880	November 15: George Freeman born in **Reading, Berkshire**.
1883	January 15: Kathleen Elizabeth born in **Reading, Berkshire**. March 17: George Alexander Innes (GAI) born in Dalkeith, Scotland.
1886	July 24: Dorothy Gage is born in **Reading, Berkshire**.
1895	Royds family moves to **St. Mary Bourne, Hampshire** where Dr. William Alexander Slater Royds takes up posting as village doctor.
early 1900s	KER Passes Cambridge Higher Local Honours Examination (History Class I with two special distinctions; Literature, Languages [French, German, Latin], Logic & Psychology, all with Class II honours). KER receives Teachers' Diploma in Theory (Class I) and Practice from CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. KER's father is President of the St. Mary Bourne Temperance Society & Band of Hope, the Cricket club, a member of the Reading Room Society, and Chairman of the Parish Council. KER's mother is on the church vestry.
1901	GAI works as Assistant Secretary to Bennett's Ironfoundry Co. Ltd., Manchester and Stockport (managed by his father George Donald Innes) until 1913. Travelled in England, Ireland, France, Belgium, and Holland developing business. Became a member of the Stockport Free Church Council, and member of the Executive Committee of the National League of Young Liberals.
1905	September 20: KER's sister, Dorothy Gage, dies at age 19.

1907 KER moves to London to take up job as First Assistant Mistress of the Upper Grade (non-Government Department) at ST. KATHARINE'S COLLEGE PRACTISING SCHOOL, Tottenham; teaches history and literature until 1910.
KER takes University Extension Course (London) in Literature from William Henry Hudson. KER is awarded Chancellor of London University's Diploma in Literature; places first and is awarded the Churton Collins Memorial Prize and Gilchrist Medal.

1910 KER is Mistress of Form IV and senior English Mistress at WYCOMBE HOUSE SCHOOL, Brondesbury; teaches London Matriculation English, Literature, Composition, German, and history in Upper Forms.

1912 KER graduates with Second Class Honours in Modern Languages (English and German) from the University of London.

1913 GAI enrols in Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham to study for the Birmingham University Social Service Diploma. GAI joins the Society of Friends.

1914 GAI is granted the Social Service Diploma with Honours from Birmingham University.
KER's mother and father move to Sidcup, Kent.
August: KER goes to Germany; stays in Berlin. GAI volunteers for the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee and organizes a training camp at Jordans, Buckinghamshire.
August 4: International Suffrage Alliance (British members) hold rally in London to call for governments to avoid war; Britain declares war on Germany.
August 9: KER decides to leave Berlin; she passes through Hamburg, Kiel Canal, Rendsburg (Aug 10), Flendsberg, Woyens (Aug 11), Vandrup and Fredericia arriving in Copenhagen (Aug 12).
August 14: in the evening, KER boards a ship heading for Leith, Scotland.
August 18: arrives in Scotland and travels to London.
August 19: arrives in Sidcup.
December: GAI goes on a visit of enquiry for Friends' War Victims Relief Committee to devastated areas of northern France.

1915 GAI becomes General Secretary in France under T.E. Harvey, M.P., for the Friends' relief and reconstruction work. KER resigns her teaching post at Wycombe House School and visits her parents in Sidcup.
April 28-May 1: First Congress of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (becomes the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1919) held in The Hague.
May 3: (London) League of Nations Society is formed
October 7: travels from Sidcup to London to join her unit of the SCOTTISH WOMEN'S HOSPITALS (SWH).
October 8: leaves London for Southampton.

1915 cont'd
October 9: boards the "Devanka" bound for Malta. KER's diary identifies sites seen from the ship: Finisterre (Oct 10), coast of Portugal, lights of Cape St Vincent, Castle of Cintra, smoke of Lisbon (Oct 11), Cape Trafalgar, Straits of Gibraltar, Rock of Gibraltar, coasts of Spain and Africa (Oct 12), Algiers (Oct 13/14).
October 15: The "Devanka" arrives in **Valetta, Malta**.
October 18: boards the "Lotus" bound for Athens.
October 20: arrival in **Athens, Greece**.
October 23: arrival in **Salonika, Greece**.
November: GAI goes to Salonika to explore work for Serbia; GAI visits Monastir and stays in Salonika to help co-ordinate relief efforts for Serbian Relief Fund under Sir Edward Boyle, Acting British Commissioner for Serbia. KER and GAI meet. KER remains in Salonika with her unit awaiting instructions.
December 10: KER & rest of SWH staff begin work with refugees flooding into Salonika. She is put in charge of obtaining and checking passports for refugees. GAI travels to Corsica with Serbian refugees to set up relief camps on the island. GAI becomes Administrator of the Serbian Relief Fund Corsica operations.

1916
January 15-17: KER is bound for Ajaccio, Corsica on "La Provençe."
January 18: "La Provençe" arrives safely in **Ajaccio, Corsica** with other aid workers and about 400 refugees after being chased overnight by submarines.
February 26: "La Provençe" is sunk in the Mediterranean with a loss of over 800 lives.
May: KER spends 2 days in **Florence, Italy**; back to Corsica via Genoa and Riviera, Nice, Mentone. KER spends 2 days "clambering in the **Maritime Alps**."
October 12: KER travels back to England with GAI for a holiday after her second term with the SWH; KER joins the SERBIAN RELIEF FUND.
December 15: KER arrives back in Corsica, now working for the Serbian Relief Fund; her time is divided among various Serbian colonies on the island (especially those in Ajaccio and Ucciani).

1917
June: goes on hike in the Corsican mountains with GAI, Dr. Forsyth Major and one other.
September: KER spends 2 days in **Vizzavona**.
November 19: KER leaves Corsica for England.

1918
British women over 30 are granted the vote.
January: KER gets a job as a UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC CONTROL Organizer in Birmingham.
January 8: President Woodrow Wilson announces his Fourteen Point Plan
January 19: GAI leaves Corsica for England; begins work in London as Organizer of the Publicity Dept. of the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee.
May: KER moves to London to take up job as office secretary of the Women's International League.

1918 cont'd
August: KER takes a holiday and probably visits parents in Sidcup.
November: GAI goes to Serbia to survey relief needs.
December 24: KER's father dies at age 75.

1919
GAI Innes co-founds SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE (SCS) CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION with Brigadier-General C.G. Fortescue; KER becomes its Secretary in England.
May: KER becomes Office Secretary of the WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE (WIL, British Section); moves office of SCS Child Welfare Association into the WIL's literature room.
May 12-17: KER attends the 2nd WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF) Congress in Zurich, Switzerland.
June 16: Jane Addams, first WILPF President, speaks in Caxton Hall, London.
June 22: WIL organize demonstration in Trafalgar Square--theme: League of Nations.
June 28: Germany signs Treaty of Versailles.

1920s/ 1930s
KER is a member of, or keeps in touch with members of, the NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN TEACHERS, the INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE ALLIANCE, and the NATIONAL UNION OF SOCIETIES FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP (formerly the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies).

1920
KER and Mrs. Ayrton Gould organize collection and transportation of 1 million rubber baby bottle nipples for German women affected by the food boycott.
March: KER travels around England, sometimes with GAI learning about the Society of Friends and on LNU business.
June: GAI moves to Lewes, Sussex, to take up a three years' engagement in a small motor and general engineering business (partnership lasts until February 1924). He becomes volunteers as Secretary to the Lewes Interdenominational Social Service Council; Chairs Lewes Branch of the League of Nations Union; and becomes member of the Executive Committee Lewes YMCA, Management Committee of the Lewes Housing Society, and founder-member of the Lewes Rotary Club.
September: KER begins organizing the 1921 WILPF SUMMER SCHOOL in Salzburg.
October 15-22: KER attends the WIL Summer School in Jordans, Buckinghamshire that she largely organized.
November 23-28/29: KER makes preliminary trip to Salzburg (& Vienna?), Austria scouting locations for the 1st WILPF International Summer School.

1921
July 4: KER moves to Cove, where her sister Annie Maye (Royds) Watson and brother-in-law, Rev. Allan Macnab Watson, live.
July 6-8: KER stays in Vienna, Austria, on another visit connected with the WILPF Summer School.
July 8-?: KER moves on to Salzburg.

1921 cont'd
July 10-17: 3rd WILPF International Congress is held in Vienna.
August 1-15: KER attends WILPF SUMMER SCHOOL hosted by Fredericka and Stefan Zweig in Salzburg.
September: KER resigns as WIL office secretary; agrees to help WIL with the "Histories of the Peoples" series.
September 21: KER and GAI marry in Cove, wedding officiated by her brother-in-law; she moves to Lewes, Sussex and becomes involved with the Brighton Branch of the WIL and the Lewes Branch of the League of Nations Union.

1922
Marie Stopes holds meetings in London, advocating birth control; Fridtjof Nansen is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
February 2: KEI is elected to WIL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
April 26: KEI's mother dies at age 82.
October 28: Mussolini marches on Rome.
October 30: King Victor Emmanuel of Italy asks Mussolini to form government and the Fascist dictatorship of Italy begins.

1923
Abyssinia is admitted to the League of Nations. British General Elections, Conservatives take 258 of 607 seats.
January: French troops occupy the Ruhr because Germany reneges on reparation payments.
August 31-Sept 7: KEI leads a group of students to visit the League of Nations Assembly in Geneva, Switzerland (under auspices of the LNU); she and GAI continue to do this probably into the 1930s.
November 9: Hitler stages abortive coup d'etat in Munich; in prison Hitler writes Mein Kampf (published in 1925).

1924
Conservatives win British General Election with a substantial majority.
February: GAI's partnership in the engineering business in Lewes dissolves; KEI and GAI move to Welwyn Garden City, Buckinghamshire.
May 1-7: 4th WILPF Congress is held in Washington, D.C., USA. [KEI does not attend].
May 19-24: KEI staffs WIL booth in Pavilion of the International Council of Women at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley. She and Margaret Sackur are decked out in "green regalia bearing the Pax badge of the League in blue and gold."
August 29?-September 5?: KEI and GAI lead tour and attend League of Nations Assembly sessions, Geneva.

1925
September 4-11?: KEI and GAI lead tour and attend League of Nations Assembly sessions, Geneva.
December 1: Locarno Treaties--Britain and Italy agree to act as guarantors of national borders in Western Europe and Rhineland is designated a demilitarized zone.

1926 January 19: KEI attends a "Delegates Conference" at Caxton Hall London organized by the WIL. Helen Ward moves and KEI seconds a motion calling for the organization of a mass peace march to touch every corner of the country; the PEACEMAKERS' PILGRIMAGE is a resounding success, receiving much press in Europe and North America.
May: General Strike called in Britain.
June: KEI becomes SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS PEACE COMMITTEE (SFPC), and thus a member of the NORTHERN FRIENDS PEACE BOARD; holds position until 1936. KEI applies as SFPC Sec. for membership in the ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. KEI joins as an SFPC representative the NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE PREVENTION OF WAR (NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL) EXECUTIVE.
June 19: Peacemaker's Pilgrimage draws large crowds to London's Hyde Park.
September 3 or 4-14?: KEI and GAI lead tour and attend League of Nations Assembly sessions, Geneva.

1927 Germany's economic system collapses.
KEI works with Louie Bennett (Ireland) to organize Edith Pye and Camille Drevet's "Mission to China" sponsored by the WILPF.
March: KEI attends a WILPF International Executive Meeting in Liége, France for which she prepares a report as the WILPF's League of Nations Referent.
KEI is elected to the position of WIL VICE-CHAIRMAN; she holds this position until 1934.
July: KEI and GAI go on holiday.
July 8-15: Fifth WILPF Congress in Dublin, Ireland [KEI does not attend]. KEI is elected WILPF CO-REFERENT ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS AFFAIRS with Catherine Marshall.
September 5?-13?: KEI and GAI lead tour and attend the League of Nations Assembly sessions, Geneva; KEI attends WILPF International Executive Committee Meeting as a visitor.
December 14: Special WIL Executive Meeting to discuss Gabrielle Duchêne's WILPF Constitution proposals.

1928 Voting age for British women lowered to 21. Italy signs "Treaty of Friendship" with Ethiopia.
KEI is a WILPF CONSULTATIVE MEMBER for British Section. (She is a Consultative member on and off throughout the 1920s and 30s.)
March 20-23: WILPF Executive Committee Meeting, Geneva.
April 24: KEI attends Abbey Service for the Josephine Butler Centenary.
June: KEI organizes a tour to the Permanent Court of International Justice in The Hague, Netherlands; members of the LNU & Society of Friends are among those who take part. KEI helps organize a small conference on Broadcasting and Adult Education.
July: KEI and GAI go on holiday.
August 27: Kellogg-Briand Pact signed by 65 nations, who pledged to outlaw war.

1928 cont'd — September: KEI and GAI lead tour and attend the League of Nations Assembly sessions, **Geneva**.

1929 — Labour wins small majority in the British General Election. Ramsey MacDonald becomes Prime Minister and Arthur Henderson, the Foreign Secretary.
Deaths: Aletta Jacobs, founder-member of WILPF and founder of first known birth control clinic; Millicent Garrett Fawcett, former President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
Margaret Bondfield becomes First British woman Privy Councillor.
KEI joins the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS' SLAVERY AND PROTECTION OF NATIVE RACES COMMITTEE (remains on it until 1937).
June: KEI is asked to join an Author's Society.
August 23-29: KEI attends the 6th WILPF International Congress in **Prague, Czechoslovakia**.
September: KEI and GAI lead tour (?) and attend the League of Nations Assembly sessions, **Geneva**.

1930 — Ras Tafari becomes Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.
KEI serves as the Society of Friends' rep. on the WOMEN'S PEACE CRUSADE.
February 6: Conference at Friends' House (London) on slavery organized by KEI.
September: World Disarmament Petition work begun (it collects 8 million signatures; 6 million are the direct result of WILPF promotion).
November: KEI asks WIL to support the international Equal Rights Treaty.

1931 — British General Elections: Ramsey MacDonald forms National Government. Oswald Mosley leaves British Labour Party to form a new fascist party in Britain.
Jane Addams and Nicholas Murray Butler are jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
February 9: Mass Meeting organized by WIL Queen's Hall (London); chief speaker is Arthur Henderson.
May: gives speech on Disarmament to the International Suffrage Alliance in **Belgrade, Yugoslavia**.
June: KEI asks WIL to support National Union of Teachers' bid to have women represented on body that determines teacher's salaries.
early September: KEI and GAI lead tour (?) and attend the League of Nations Assembly sessions, **Geneva**.
September 19: Japanese seize Mukden in Manchuria.
September 21: Britain abandons gold standard.
November: Unofficial International Disarmament Conference convened in Paris (presided over by Lord Cecil); Gabrielle Duchêne represents WILPF.

1932 January: WIL holds Special Executive Meeting to deal with Manchurian Crisis.
end of January: KEI gives lectures in Northern England.
February 2: World Disarmament Conference (Geneva) begins; it meets off and on for the next two years.
February 6: receiving ceremony at World Disarmament Conference for the 8 million World Disarmament petitions presented by the WILPF.
May 15-19: 7th WILPF International Congress is held in Grenoble, France. KEI does not attend, but is appointed the WILPF'S REFERENT ON PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION IN EUROPE.
August: Anti-War Congress (Amsterdam); Gabrielle Duchêne represents WILPF; the fact of the WILPF's being represented draws criticism from British Section (WIL).
November: KEI attends Society of Friends' International Conference in Amsterdam, Netherlands.

1933 Norman Angell is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Reichstag fire; Enabling Act passed in Germany giving Hitler dictatorial powers. Japan and German withdraw from League of Nations.
July: KEI attends Peace Congress at Oxford as representative of Friends' Peace Committee.

1934 Arthur Henderson is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Eleven million Britons respond to the League of Nations Union's Peace Ballot. USSR admitted to League of Nations.
March 5-7: WIL Annual Council discusses WIL-WILPF relations. KEI assumes the WIL CHAIRMANSHIP & holds this position until 1935.
April 17-18: KEI lectures in Manchester.
June 1-2: Special WIL Council Meeting on "Sanctions: Economic, Financial, Diplomatic, Embargo on Export of Arms and Military." KEI is the featured speaker.
September 3-8: KEI attends 8th WILPF International Congress in Zurich and serves as Chairman of the Constitution Committee set up at this Congress (after the rift in the British Section).
November 20: KEI chairs morning session of WIL conference on "Our Responsibilities to Subject Peoples in Africa."

1935 KEI becomes the WIL's REFERENT ON AIR ARMAMENT AND WARFARE.
February 6-8: divisive WIL Annual Council Meeting at which Kathleen Courtney (former WIL Chairman) resigns from Executive; Hilda Clark (Hon. Sec.) and Miss Chick (Hon. Treas.) also resign as Officers. KEI takes over as WIL HONOURARY SECRETARY; she holds this position until 1946.
late February: Germany takes over government of Saar Territory.
March 25-30: KEI attends WILPF Executive Committee Meeting, Geneva, and is appointed to sit on a committee to look into the Abyssinian situation.

1935 cont'd
September 11-20: KEI attends WILPF Executive Meeting in Geneva; is elected with Barbara Duncan Harris to be CO-PRESIDENT IN EUROPE OF THE PEOPLES MANDATE TO GOVERNMENTS; this group obtains 14 million supporters across the world for a petition calling for an end to war. KEI probably also attends sessions of the League of Nations Assembly.
October: Italo-Abyssinian War begins. Abyssinian Emperor Haile Selassie goes into exile in Britain.
December: Hoare-Laval Plan secretly negotiated between British and French Foreign Ministers which gave Italy the right to annex about half of Ethiopia; this caused a large public outcry in Britain that forced the resignation of Samuel Hoare and his replacement by Anthony Eden. Italy rejects the plan.

1936
German troops occupy the Rhineland. Italo-Abyssinian War ends and King Victor Emmanuel of Italy is proclaimed Emperor.
January 22-?: KEI chairs Peoples' Mandate to Governments planning session in The Hague.
February 12: KEI speaks at the Manchester WIL Branch's Annual Meeting.
April 29-May 4: WILPF Executive Committee Meeting in Prague (KEI sends regrets); WIL-WILPF relations again on the agenda, as is the Peoples' Mandate.
July: Spanish Civil War begins.
September 7-27: KEI attends WILPF Executive Meeting and League of Nations Assembly sessions in Geneva.
September 26: KEI is among presenters of the Peoples' Mandate to the League of Nations Assembly.
October 31: KEI gives speech to Glasgow WIL Branch.

1937
Lord Robert Cecil is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Lord Halifax visits Hitler and Britain's policy of appeasement begins. Italy withdraws from the League of Nations.
January 30-31: KEI is in Brussels for the First Meeting of the WILPF Congress Committee Meeting held in the Savoy Hotel.
April 5-10: KEI in Bruges for WILPF Congress Committee Meeting.
June: KEI and GAI go on vacation for 3 weeks.
July 7: Sino-Japanese War begins.
July 25-31: attends WILPF International Congress in Luhacovice, Czechoslovakia; KEI is elected to WILPF INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE and is appointed WILPF INTERNATIONAL CO-CHAIRMAN with Clara Ragaz (Switzerland) and Gertrud Baer (Germany); she holds this position until 1946. She also serves on the "Finding Committee" re: WILPF Policy at the Congress.
October 3-7: KEI attends WILPF Executive meeting in Geneva and tries to attend last League of Nations Assembly session on October 7.
November 29-December 1: KEI travels in Northern England.

1937 cont'd
December 15-16: KEI attends International Peace Campaign meetings in London as WILPF representative; also asked to attend reception on 16th in honour of Lord Cecil's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize.

1938
KEI edits the WILPF's International News Sheet, Pax International; owing to difficulties publishing in a belligerent country she is forced to give it up in 1939.
January 4-10 or 11: KEI gives opening address at WILPF Executive Meeting in Basle.
March: KEI & GAI move into "Portway," St. Mary Bourne, Hampshire.
March: Hitler annexes Austria.
May 11: KEI addresses the opening meeting of Women Peace Campaigners--Long Ashton Branch of WIL.
May 13-16: International Conference on "Moral Strength in International Relations" held in Marseilles under patronage of Duchess of Atholl, Hilda Clark, Margery Corbett-Ashby, Carmel Haden-Guest, Kathleen Innes, Eleanor Rathbone, Ellen Wilkinson, and "well-known women in Belgium, Czech, Denmark, France, Holland, Ireland, Sweden, Switzerland, USA."
September 6-11: KEI attends WILPF Executive Meeting in Geneva.
October: Germany occupies the Czech Sudetenland.
December: KEI attends birthday celebration for the St. Mary Bourne Women's Institute and participates in a performance of charades.

1939
Spanish Civil War ends; Britain and France recognize Franco's government. Britain institutes conscription.
GAI's father, George Donald Innes, moves into Portway.
February: KEI elected PRESIDENT of the St. Mary Bourne WOMEN'S INSTITUTE and presides over a spelling bee.
April [21]: KEI attends WILPF Chairmen's meeting in Paris.
May: KEI wins Women's Institute competition for the 12 best hardy annuals.
May 2: KEI writes letter of protest to British Prime Minister over introduction of conscription.
June 7: KEI and Mrs. Ring represent the St. Mary Bourne Women's Institute at the Annual WI Meeting on London.
June 9-21: vacation--travelling by car [through England and Wales].
July: KEI hosts the Women's Institute Flower Show at Portway and takes 3rd place for her mixed wild flowers.
August 23: Nazi-Soviet Pact with secret deal to split Poland.
August 25: England and Poland sign treaty of mutual assistance.
September 1: German troops cross Polish border.
September 3: Britain and France declare war on Germany over invasion of Poland.
September 3-9: WILPF Chairmen's and Executive Meetings are scheduled for Geneva; they are rescheduled for December.
December 5-9: WILPF Chairmen's and International Executive Committee Meetings in Geneva.

late 1930s/ early 1940s — KEI is PRESIDENT of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN, ANDOVER BRANCH; she and GAI begin to interest Bourne residents in the idea of building a Village Centre. KEI becomes member of the St. Mary Bourne VILLAGE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION and BEE-KEEPERS' ASSOCIATION.

1940 — Bacon, butter, and sugar rationed in Britain.
WIL Headquarters in London suffers bomb damage; plagued by frequent air raid warnings, the office & Secretary Emily Horscroft move to KEI's house in St. Mary Bourne.

1941 — Jeannette Rankin, WILPF supporter and member of the US House of Representatives, casts sole dissenting vote in American Congress against declaration of war on Japan after bombing of Pearl Harbour.
British evict the Italians from Ethiopia, and Haile Selassie returns as Emperor.

1942 — May: KEI and Miss Powell begin their weekly staffing of a Women's Institute Produce Stall in St. Mary Bourne. This continues through the summer.

1943 — GAI is asked to serve as the Hon. Secretary of the newly created Village Centre Committee; he serves in this position until 1954.
May: KEI continues her work on the WI Produce Stall.
July: St. Mary Bourne wins the Women's Institute County banner in a letter competition on village life and needs; KEI chaired preparatory sessions and compiled the letter. In the Annual Flower Show, KEI takes 2 place in Bottled fruits--Black currants competition; 3 place in best arranged salad competition. KEI hosts a WI competition and tea, proceeds go to the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.
September: KEI gets a group of women together (Mrs. Boys, Miss Brewer, Mrs. H. Barnes, Mr. A. Cook, Mrs. Hay, Mrs. B.M. Taylor, Mr. LeFroy, Mrs. De Morgan) to compile the annual village record of events.

1945 — Mussolini killed; Hitler commits suicide.
February: KEI chairs Women's Institute showing of 2 documentary films: "World of Plenty" and "Left of the Line."
May 8: war ends in Europe.
June 26: United Nations Charter signed to take effect in October.
July: KEI holds meeting of the Women's Institute at Portway, proceeds go to the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. In the Annual Flower Show, KEI comes in 2nd in the rhubarb competition and 2nd in the six brown eggs competition.
August 4-9: KEI attends WILPF Congress in Luxembourg and is appointed a WILPF VICE-PRESIDENT. KEI is also appointed WIL HONOURARY VICE-PRESIDENT.

1945 cont'd
August 6: US drops atomic bomb on Hiroshima.
August 9: US drops atomic bomb on Nagasaki.
August 14: Second World War officially over.
late August: KEI and Barbara Duncan Harris write a letter to British Prime Minister C.R. Atlee pressing the British Government in light of the destruction caused by the atomic bombs to "urge that the immediate opportunity be taken to secure from all countries a speedy renunciation of the machinery of war..."
September 12: KEI and GAI host a "Victory Fête" in Portway's garden and are surprised with the presentation of an anniversary cake on the occasion of their 24th anniversary.

1946
Emily Balch and John Mott are jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.
GAI's father (George Donald Innes) dies in St. Mary Bourne at the age of 89.
January 6: United Nations holds its first Assembly in London; New York declared permanent Headquarters.
August 4-9: KEI attends the 10th WILPF Congress in Luxembourg and is made an HONOURARY VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WILPF.
September 18: KEI attends the WIL Council Meeting in London at which she is appointed a WIL VICE-PRESIDENT.

1948
June: KEI and GAI host a Fête in Portway's garden in aid of the Village Centre; £30 is raised.

1949
June: KEI and GAI host a Fête in Portway's garden in aid of the Village Centre.

1950s
KEI serves as PRESIDENT of the ST. MARY BOURNE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE and HON. SECRETARY of the NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO CHILDREN. KEI and GAI are members of the ROYAL SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF BIRDS and are St. Mary Bourne SCHOOL GOVERNORS. KEI is a member of the St. Mary Bourne VILLAGE PRODUCE ASSOCIATION QUIZ TEAM.

1951
KEI is the first woman to CHAIR the St. Mary Bourne PARISH COUNCIL.
January 12: KEI chairs a talk in St. Mary Bourne given by Dr. Machin on "British Wit and Humour."
February 2: KEI puts out a call to Women's Institute members to submit pictures and ideas for the 1952 WI scrapbook to be entered into the WI scrapbook county competition.

1952
KEI is appointed SECRETARY of the St. Mary Bourne CLUB ROOM and over the next several years handles all arrangements for bookings of the Club Room and Billiard Room (payment, cleaning, etc.), on average about 160 bookings per year.

1953
KEI and GAI spend two-week vacation in the Channel Islands, visiting Friends' Meeting Houses.

1955 August: KEI takes over as SECRETARY of the St. Mary Bourne VILLAGE CENTRE COMMITTEE.

1967 January 6: Andover Advertiser reports that KEI is in "satisfactory" condition following surgery at Royal County Hospital in Winchester, Hants.
January 13: GAI attends party organized by the North-West Hants. Liberal Party (of which he is constituency President).
March 27: KEI dies at age 84 of colon cancer.

1973 December 31: GAI dies of heart failure/old and recent myocardial infarction at age 90 in Stanmore, Middlesex.